



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

**PART 19 OF 25**

**FILE NUMBER : 100-11392**

SECTION: 19

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

APR 16 1968

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-11392)

FROM :

SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-4899)

SUBJECT:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
(AFSC)  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau for information are six copies of an article from the "Friends Journal", Philadelphia, Pa., 3/15/68, page 140, concerning the AFSC and RUSSELL JOHNSON, beginning, "A growing disaffection for Americans in Thailand."

ENCLOSURE

EX-110  
REC 26

100-11392-514

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 6)(RM)
  - 2 - 100-11392 (AFSC)
  - 1 - 100- (RUSSELL JOHNSON)
- 2 - Philadelphia
  - 1 - 100-4899 (AFSC)
  - 1 - 100-48874 (RUSSELL JOHNSON)

16 APR 17 1968

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54 APR 24 1968



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

A growing disaffection for Americans in Thailand, evidenced by a recent anti-American editorial in the newspaper *Siam Rath*, is just one indication of a reappraisal of Thai policy in the national self-interest, according to Russell Johnson, American Friends Service Committee representative who recently returned from an investigatory visit to Southeast Asia. (Thai newspapers, he noted, are under government control.) In South Vietnam, which he visited for the tenth time, he found a general feeling of hopelessness among the people and a "widespread acquiescence" to the National Liberation Front offensive. One effect of the worsening situation in the cities, he says, has been that "entrepreneurs who have been making money as a result of the war are caught in the middle." One Catholic Vietnamese priest, appalled by the warfare, told the AFSC visitor that "Communism . . . in its worst form . . . couldn't possibly be as destructive as this."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.140-"Friends  
Journal"  
Philadelphia, PA

Date: 3/15/68  
Edition: Vol.14, No.  
Author:  
Editor: Frances Wil  
Title: Brown

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ENCLOSURE

111-11392-514

items: [REDACTED] furnished on April 11, 1967, the following

- (1) A leaflet captioned "AFSC Report From Vietnam," which states that BRONSON CLARK would present a talk April 5, 1967, at 8 p.m., at the Abington Friends Meeting

BRONSON CLARK

House, Jenkintown, Pa.

BRONSON CLARK was described as a concerned Quaker businessman experienced in refugee projects who had been in Vietnam to observe and analyze the needs of civilian war victims. It also stated CLARK was in charge of the AFSC Vietnam Refugee Program.

(2) Press Release of March 27, 1967, from  
AFSC, a copy of which follows:

April 1967

Press release of March 27, 1967 from A.F.S.C.

"The United States has the power to destroy Vietnam but it cannot win the people according to Bronson P. Clark, program associate of the American Friends Service Committee, who has just returned from a two months survey trip to Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

"The Vietnamese, both North and South, think of themselves as Vietnamese and do not accept the administration thesis that they have invaded themselves," Clark said, reporting to the AFSC staff. "If we wish to stop the loss of American and Vietnamese lives, then we must realize that we are not defending South Vietnam but are in a massive military effort to impose a government of our choice on South Vietnam."

Clark traveled extensively in Vietnam, talking to military, personnel, Vietnamese leaders and students, journalists, and AFSC staff members in Quang Ngai and in the Saigon area.

Clark was in Vietnam during the "Iron Triangle" or "Cedar Falls Operation." He reported that the Americans staged fourteen consecutive B-52 raids, employed napalm, flamethrowers, defoliation and used ditch diggers and bulldozers "until the jungle looked like a giant steel claw had raked it back and forth." Yet shortly after the conclusions of this operation, the Viet Cong staged an ambush which produced heavy casualties to an American military group.

"That is the story of this war," said Clark. "We have the ability to move in wherever we wish, but cannot in fact pacify in any significant way. The military indicates that the war is a five-year war at a minimum and that many more American troops would have to be employed." Clark said that the administration in Washington is demanding of our military unreasonable dates and unattainable objectives.

Clark said there were two myths holding up negotiations. The first myth, that we have almost won the war, is contrary to the facts in the field. Even those provinces which are declared "pacified" are, in fact, unsafe for Americans who live in forts surrounded by barbed wire and only venture out in armed strength.

"The second myth," said Clark, "is the continual stress on negotiations when, in fact, the American position in Vietnam is to drive forward with the war in order to 'win' something. Clark indicated that, if the Americans were sincere about negotiations, they should immediately allow a free press and permit Buddhists, doctors, journalists, and other Saigon intellectuals an opportunity to begin to discuss negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

"We cannot convince the Front we wish to negotiate when we make it impossible for the Vietnamese to work out among themselves what form of government might emerge that could negotiate with the Viet Cong. To help with negotiations, Americans need an international presence in Vietnam, to serve as a mediator and to assist the Johnson administration in acquiring a practical political procedure for withdrawal from Vietnam, without political trauma in the United States.

2

[REDACTED]

Clark indicated some optimism on the ending of the war by virtue of three new elements:

- 1) The Vietnam war offends the entire diplomatic world community. Even those diplomats who support our efforts are currently encouraging our government to negotiate along U Thant's proposals.
- 2) More and more political leaders now realize that a growing body of Americans are opposed to the war and would vote for positive steps on our side to negotiate for American withdrawal.
- 3) The American myth that China is great, powerful and aggressive, is crumbling. China is not regarded as a military threat by most Southeast Asian nations and even Americans who specialize in "China watching" feel that China is currently preoccupied and by no means has the posture of an expanding power.

"Another long range cause for optimism," Clark said, "lies in the fact that the Vietnamese people, by educating the Americans to the folly of trying to solve Southeast Asia's problems by war, have probably saved the United States from a war with China. Any American political administration will give long pause," he said, "before leading that nation into a war with China."

In January, 1967, Clark resigned as vice president of Gilford Instrument Laboratories in order to accept his assignment with the AFSC. Previously he had worked for the Committee in China, Morocco, and Algeria, and had served as a member of the working party which produced the book, PEACE IN VIETNAM: A NEW APPROACH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

*"Maybe a Miracle Will Save Us"*

By BRONSON P. CLARK

WARS have always been hard on civilian populations, but somehow the war in Vietnam, with the employment of modern weaponry (including air power) on an essentially peasant country produces civilian suffering in a manner different from that of past wars. As one well-known international correspondent said to me in speaking of the American effort, "It's the invasion of the Martians!"

One result is that the country's primitive, provincial hospital system is overwhelmed with casualties of all ages and sexes. A New Zealand doctor told me as we walked through Qui Nhon hospital, "I believe there are more civilian casualties than all the military casualties on both sides combined." This hospital did not have a laboratory worthy of the name; patients were often placed two to a bed. Antechambers to the two operating rooms were crowded with wounded, some of them on makeshift cots and mats, all waiting their turn at the tables.

A similar hospital in Quang Ngai performs major surgery and bone repair but does not even have an X-ray machine! Some American government aid reaches these hard-pressed hospitals, but they are run by the Saigon government and suffer from slowness, bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, and the chaos resulting from the war. It seems ironic that while, in the interest of efficiency, the United States interferes with Saigon's military operations, it respects Saigon's sovereignty in medical matters.

Before coming to Vietnam I was under the impression that the main fighting was taking place in remote, mountainous, guerrilla-dominated areas. In trips to cities and towns from the south to the northern city of Hue I found that most operations were undertaken in the populated and farming areas along the coast. I know of no city in South Vietnam where travel beyond the city limits at night is regarded as safe. Except for air travel, American military movements during the day are made in armed convoys.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state)

p.133,134-"Philadelphia  
Journal  
Philadelphia

Date: 3/15/67.  
Edition: Vol.13,  
Author: Bronson  
Editor: Frances  
Browin

Coastal cities like Danang, Quang Ngai, Qui Nhon, and, of course, Saigon have Vietcong operating right in the suburbs and often in the towns themselves. The United States military has responded with H and I fire (Harassment and Interdiction), which is random shelling to keep the VC off balance. This shelling is done by Navy ships and shore-based batteries. The second-largest producer of civilian casualties is no doubt machine-gun fire from helicopters. As one GI said, "If they wave at us we assume they are friendly, but if they run we let 'em have it!"

As the war proceeds, more of the population is forcibly regrouped, often after harsh interrogation, in operations carrying prosaic names like "County Fair." Many Americans of good motive, working as United States Government officials, attempt to make these regrouping operations easier on the civilian population. But the trauma of separation from the land and from the destroyed home and village still remains. Efforts to leave refugee camps often result in additional casualties.

While billions of dollars go into various massive military installations such as the one at Bien Hoa, which stretches as far as the eye can see, or the new 10,000-foot jet runway under construction at Qui Nhon, aid to refugees and the wounded is fractional. The U.S. Agency for International Development's refugee budget for the current fiscal year, including material aid, is fourteen million. More millions go into distribution of USAID-imported foodstuffs. More than a score of volunteer agencies add their bit, but it is all very modest compared with the war cost. And what are the results of the military effort?

Five internationally known war correspondents with whom I talked all agree that if the United States persists the country will be destroyed. As the late Bernard Fall said, "It will be the victory of the graveyard." If you inquire about American willingness to negotiate, you are looked at with amazement. "How can Johnson negotiate? He hasn't won anything yet." As for the National Liberation Front and Hanoi, there seems to be general agreement that they always have been ready to discuss American withdrawal but have no intention of attending a surrender conference.

Military officials have told me privately that it takes one to two million men and five years to "do the job." There was reported to be a debate within the military on whether to apply the total-destruction or the overwhelming-troop-superiority method, but it now appears that we may apply both.

All this has produced growing disenchantment on the part of Vietnamese who have supported the United States. One former South Vietnamese Government minister said, "I cannot afford to be seen with Americans, or my friends will regard me as a collaborator." The Buddhists, once recognized to be a group willing to take their chances in negotiations with the National Liberation Front, so that their political initiatives were crushed. At present they are in a disarray in terms of their ability to cope with Ky's political tactics. However, they still represent a group that must be taken into account in any settlement.

Other Vietnamese Government leaders and former government student contacts have said that because the American establishment in South Vietnam is now so overwhelming they feel the last vestiges of their own society are drifting away. They speak, perhaps naively, of the recent entry of American troops into the Delta: "Will the U.S. leave any area of responsibility for our troops?" The result appears to be more and more pressure on the part of Ky's forces. This may account for the American claim of a decline in the rate of desertions. I believe that, considering the difficulties under which they are obtained, most of these figures are suspect.

As for defections from the Vietcong to Ky's side, the figures are again difficult to come by, though a personal visit to a Chieu Hoi (open-arms) retraining camp revealed to me a pathetic group of men and women living in the most total idleness on a tiny patch of treeless waste under the direction of a recently imported Filipino who does not speak Vietnamese!

While the Johnson administration verbalizes on the flow of aid from the North and on Hanoi's direction of the Vietcong, the fact is that the United States military is confronted with a continuing full-scale insurgency in the South. We are very much at war against South Vietnam, and the moves into the Delta are hard to fit into the existing U.S. Administration myths. All agree that the Delta has been a VC stronghold for thirty-four years, despite there being scarcely a Northerner in the place!

From my search for Vietnamese opinions on how the war might be stopped, one thing emerged as paramount. This was the fact that, as a leading Catholic priest said to me, "censorship of our press and the inability to discuss peace initiatives plus the suppression of even 'neutrality' makes it impossible for us to find a way out. We must rely on the United States for that."

A youthful Vietnamese woman active in the cooperative movement said, "Maybe a miracle will save us." Throughout her whole life she has known nothing but war, and the poignancy of her cry indicated her despair.

But wars are made by man, not by God, and prayers not followed by specific acts upon our part will not produce "miracles." There are still initiatives available to the United States. U Thant's three steps (stop bombing in the North, de-escalate in the South, and negotiate with all participating parties) taken all together, are still valid. Or a leaf could be taken from Algeria, where the "provisional government" that was set up to run a referendum stepped aside in favor of the new government. Some observers here feel that the present Constituent Assembly offers a chance to create some similar government, behind which the United States can beat a strategic retreat. Even though the Assembly screened out "neutralist," it seems clear that groundwork is being laid for eventual negotiations with the NLF.

Meanwhile we should continue to bind up the wounds of the war and to keep pressure on our Government officials to reverse the continued massive American military build-up and its concomitant destruction. We should push for prompt American military withdrawal. We cannot achieve our stated objectives, however noble, by employing present methods. The tides of nationalism run strong in Southeast Asia. A policy that takes this into account can start the process of regaining our lost moral posture before Asia and the rest of world.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

"The Sunday Bulletin," Philadelphia, Pa., March 28, 1967, carried an article captioned, "Vietnam War 'Futile Effort,' Quaker Observer Charges." A copy of this item follows:

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Vietnam War 'Futile Effort,' Quaker Observer Charges

The war in Vietnam was denounced as a "futile effort" yesterday by a Quaker who recently toured Southeast Asia.

Bronson P. Clark, who made the two-month trip for the American Friends Service Committee, reported to a session of the 257th Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends at their Arch Street Meeting House, 4th and Arch sts.

Talk of victory is a "myth that is deluding Americans," it was charged by the Quaker observer.

"Our hoped-for victory would be nothing more than winning a graveyard, for our war policy can only destroy the country without winning the Vietnamese," Clark declared.

### Winning Is a 'Myth'

"We are not defending South Vietnam but are in a massive military effort to impose a government of our choice upon it," he added.

"President Johnson has imposed impossible objectives upon the military, while the military view the war in terms of another five years and another million men, at the minimum," he continued. "It is a myth that we are winning. Eighty percent of the countryside is still in control of Viet Cong, known there as the National Liberation Front."

"The so-called pacification of the natives is another myth being fed to the American people. The American troops have to live in barbed-wire protected areas, and only venture out in armed strength."

### A 'Police State'

Clark called the possibility of negotiations also a myth, unless the U. S. shifts its policy from

"winning something" and "defeating North Vietnam" to one of encouraging Saigon leaders to themselves negotiate with the Viet Cong and set their own terms.

"Instead of this, our policy seems to be based on that of Korea, and of having the country severed," Clark continued. "The word 'negotiation,' so frequently used by the administration in the U. S. is almost unknown or unmentioned there."

"There is no free press, 43,000 political prisoners, the Buddhists are thoroughly crushed. It is a police state, with the present assembly screened to keep out not only communists but also neutralists, and free-thinking intellectuals, including college professors, are closely watched."

"Our military achievements have thus far been the leveling of villages, forests and rubber plantations, and causing rice fields to be idle and the cities crowded with refugees and war-injured victims, many with burns or amputations."

### Team in Quang Ngai

Clark reported especially on the city of Quang Ngai and the work there of an American Friends Service team of ten natives and five Americans. The Americans include John Pixton, history professor on leave from the Ogontz Center of Pennsylvania State University, and Keith Brinton, of George School, Newtown, Bucks county.

Clark resigned in January as an executive of an electronics firm at Oberlin, Ohio, to join the American Friends Service Committee. He recently moved to Germantown.

The Friends Yearly Meeting, which numbers 92 local meetings with 18,000 members, will continue through Wednesday. Federal Judge Albert B. Maris, of Lansdowne, is presiding clerk.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state)

6, Section 1

The Sunday Bulletin  
Phila., Pa.

Date: 3/26/67

Edition: Sunday

Author:

Editor: William B.

Title:

[REDACTED]

The "Friends Journal," Philadelphia, Pa., December 15, 1967, pages 855 and 856, carried an article captioned, "Talking With the Enemy," by ROSS FLANAGAN, which revealed that BRONSON CLARK, RUSSELL JOHNSON, and ROSS FLANAGAN, all of the AFSC, in September 1967 participated in a week-long conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, with the Czechoslovakian Peace Committee as host. The meetings, arranged by DAVID DELLINGER, editor of Liberation, brought together 41 Americans generally representative of the "New Left" with eight members of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The conference sessions were largely devoted to the presentation of formal statements, professions of mutual admiration, and the enumeration and exchange of questions for further discussion. The NLF placed major emphasis in its statement on the historical development of the Front's struggle for independence and the quality of life in its "liberated zones," while the North Vietnamese focused their presentation around their country's extensive and imaginative arrangements to cope with stepped-up American bombing. The American delegation presented an assessment of the effects (political, social, and economic) of the war in the United States and an explanation of the role of various constituencies active in the anti-war movement.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished a 12-page paper captioned, "Journey to the War: A Current View of Vietnam," by BRONSON P. CLARK. A copy of this item follows:

CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE AFSC

American Friends Service Committee 160 North 15th Street, Phila., Pa.

Journey to the War: A Current View of Vietnam

by Bronson P. Clark

1. The Spreading War

The return to Southeast Asia for a second visit separated by one year produced a striking impression of a war of increasing intensity but, far more seriously, a war that has now spread in substantial ways to the Southeast Asian countries around Vietnam. We are familiar with the 40,000 American troops in Thailand and the existence of five major air bases from which American pilots currently bomb Laos and North Vietnam. We are also aware of the recent issue of hot pursuit into Cambodia. Unfortunately, most of the press and public attention appears to have been on the point of the reaction of Prince Sihanouk should hot pursuit occur either in the form of incursions into his territory by American troops or, more likely, bombing by the air force. There has been far less attention to the fact that such hot pursuit is a major escalation of the war as predicted by U Thant well over a year ago.

As for Laos itself, conversations with international agency personnel, diplomats and newsmen would appear to confirm that the war there is growing in intensity although limited in part by the fact that the United States cannot overtly, under its 1962 neutrality agreement, place American military troops in Laos. However, I have met International Voluntary Service personnel who indicate that there are at least two military camps which are under the direction of American Green Berets who are not in uniform but dressed in blue denim and who are engaged in training the Laotian army in counter-insurgency tactics. Furthermore, IVS personnel in Laos tell me that a very substantial number of individuals who are known as "requirements officers" and who are attached to the USAID mission are in fact military personnel actively engaged in advising and training the Lao army. In addition, the CIA was reported to be active and had installations adjacent to most of the major air ports in the areas under the control of the Laotian government. There was considerable evidence that American military assistance to the Lao air force was causing increased bombing of the areas involving the Ho Chi Minh Trail and other Pathet Lao controlled areas.

Another disquieting development is the Green Beret training of an elite military unit of "Free Khmers" in South Vietnam. I personally visited this training camp and talked with many of the Khmers themselves. They are technically in the South Vietnamese army but are dressed in better than average uniforms and are paid 2,000 piastres per month over the normal pay of other South Vietnamese army units. They are in training at Long Hai, which is located just across the bay from Vung Tai at the mouth of the Saigon River. Many of these men were born in Cambodia, although some were born in South Vietnam. They are anti-Sihanouk followers of Son Ngoc Thanh who is a political opponent of Sihanouk currently resident in Saigon. Thanh was formerly the prime minister of Cambodia at the time of the Japanese occupation during the Second World War.



It would appear clear that the training of these Free Khmers in counter-insurgency indicates their possible use should relations with Sihanouk deteriorate to the point where land entry into Cambodia is called for by the American military.

The increase in American military pressure throughout the whole area, including intensification of bombing in North Vietnam, has apparently produced considerable counter-escalation in various areas. It would appear that the insurgency in Northeast Thailand is now receiving considerable support from North Vietnam and China, that substantial groups of North Vietnamese military regulars are operating in Laos in the provinces contiguous to North Vietnam and through the eastern and southern areas of Laos near the Ho Chi Minh Trail. These North Vietnamese regulars - according to diplomats, IVS personnel and International Control Commission personnel with whom I talked - have made excursions into the plains from the mountainous areas, taken rice and then retreated into the hills. Also, American scholars familiar with Southeast Asian affairs have accepted figures on the number of Chinese Peoples Liberation Army troops now in North Vietnam as being upwards of 40,000. Their work in North Vietnam appears to be concerned primarily with logistics and railroad repair. During my visit I talked with the Southeast Asian scholar, Mr. Brian Shaw, who is with the Department of International Relations Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, Canberra. His area of study is concerned primarily with Chinese-North Vietnamese relations and he indicated that on the basis of data from three independent sources he now believes that there are 80,000 Chinese troops operating in North Vietnam in logistic support. This, of course, is a major intervention on the part of China and makes academic any speculation that China would permit a military defeat of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, let alone of the NLF. In conversations with senior American military personnel and American diplomatic personnel one is aware of the desire of these people to discuss the war in Vietnam not just in specific terms of Vietnam itself. They give an analysis based upon a major confrontation with "communists", "insurgents" or those who advocate "wars of liberation" throughout all Asia. As the American Ambassador to Laos, William Sullivan, said, "The American people do not realize that if we are properly to confront China a larger understanding of United States goals and objectives is required. Further, a willingness on the part of Americans to sacrifice for their belief in a "free world" must be equal to the willingness with which the communists are sacrificing for their beliefs." This rather harsh cold war analysis leaves out any understanding of the tides of nationalism which sweep through Asia or of the wide variety of cultures, languages and beliefs which divide the numerous countries of Southeast Asia. However, the point here is that it is an attitude which seeks not negotiation but the application of further military power in a situation where political and economic solutions point the only way toward peace.

## 2. The Untruthful War

The second most striking thing to a visitor is the substantial discrepancy between the position held by General William Westmoreland that the "end is in sight" and the realities one sees in Vietnam. Hard evidence shows that "security" has deteriorated throughout South Vietnam as against a year ago. Senator Percy was in Vietnam during my visit and in conversations with his staff I was informed that in one private meeting between the Senator and seven senior American correspondents all seven agreed that the United States could not win the war.

They were speaking in the sense that the stated objectives of the American government could not, in fact, be achieved by our present methods and that the country was gradually being destroyed and the culture ruined. Mr. Scott Cohen, a member of Senator Percy's staff, stated that out of approximately twenty newsmen with whom they talked, nineteen felt the present American posture in Vietnam was a disaster. The same opinions were held by numerous International Voluntary Service personnel and many USAID representatives as well as leading Vietnamese.

The representative of CARE in Da Nang reported that he no longer uses the main route leading south as he recently was ambushed in broad daylight. Elizabeth Brown, the director of Foster Parents Plan no longer can permit her social workers to travel and now confines the staff to Saigon. IVS personnel told me that many areas heretofore open to them are closed; particularly in the Central Highlands but also in many other areas such as the Delta. Roger Montgomery who is the director of IVS operations in Four Corps, which covers the entire Delta, told me that villages where his agricultural workers had stayed were now insecure and that they had to return to the provincial capital at night.

He spoke of the difficulty of traveling from Can Tho, which is the military headquarters of Four Corps, down to Soc Trang, the provincial capital of Ba Xuan Province, as this road had become insecure. In fact, in Can Tho itself there is a curfew at 9 pm and Americans and American military personnel within the city live behind barbed wire and anti-grenade nets extending to the third floor of the billet and protected by guards with machine guns. I witnessed Vietnamese personnel entering and leaving American basis in the Delta being given body search. The ability of the Viet Cong to travel freely through the Delta and their hold on the great majority of the people is admitted by the American military. Vietnamese Christian Service personnel, a Protestant service organization assisting primarily in work with refugees, confirm that in the Da Nang area there is a serious deterioration of security. This was underscored by a recent Viet Cong mortar attack on the massive American air base at Da Nang from the hills a short distance away. A visit to a large American air base located at Phu Gat, which is east of Pleiku, revealed that large numbers of planes had to be evacuated recently because of VC shelling of the base. One must remember that these are heavily protected bases of enormous size, located in populous areas which are unlike the jungle areas and show the ability of the VC to move pretty much at will even the the coastal areas.

The Saigon Bureau Chief of the New York Times, Mr. Thomas Buckley, said to me that security is probably worse and certainly no better than a year ago and that one should assume that General Westmoreland would always put a good light on "progress". Two long conversations with Francois Sully of Newsweek revealed that American combat groups were 20% under-manned and that soldiers with only 90 days of training were going into combat. As I had just read the article in the December 11 issue of Newsweek entitled "Filling the Holes" which reveals how the Pentagon is able to quickly replace those killed in battle, it seemed in direct conflict with the information given by Francois Sully. He reported, however, that his own story on the 20% deficiency had been checked by his magazine with the Pentagon and the ensuing story was the result.

The continuing struggle between American newsmen and the briefing officers of JUSPAO (Joint United States Public Affairs Office) is notorious and the head of JUSPAO recently was changed primarily, as one newsman said to me, "because of the bad relations between the U.S. establishment and the press in Vietnam". Part of this is because the Johnson Administration has been pressing sharply for good reports from the field which show progress. I ran into this in several interviews which revealed the pressure on American personnel to send encouraging reports from their areas which Washington could use to present an optimistic picture. This was confirmed in a news story by R. W. Apple of the New York Times on the front page of the January 1, 1968, issue in a release entitled, "U.S. Said to Press Sharply for Good Vietnam Reports".

Basic to this reporting is the operation of "H.E.S.", a hamlet evaluation system by which each hamlet in South Vietnam is classified on a grade from A through E as to degree of security or pacification. It is this basic system of analysis which produces the figures by which the Administration claims we control two-thirds of the people. Basic data as to whether a hamlet is under VC control or Saigon government control or a variation in between is produced at the district level. The American military district advisors, the overwhelming majority of whom speak no Vietnamese, are entirely dependent upon information given by the district chief who is Vietnamese. This district chief is a South Vietnamese army officer operating with an extremely limited English vocabulary and not particularly desirous of presenting a gloomy picture. The result is that an almost totally false set of data is being received as to what area is secure and what is insecure, what roads are open or closed, which roads can be traveled without military escort and those which are open only in the sense that they can be traversed in heavily armed convoys. Yet the Pentagon continues to issue press releases based on this data creating a wholly false impression which irritates even the military personnel in Vietnam. For example, one U.S. military officer responsible for an entire province in the Delta said, "The VC had this area for 25 years. Out of 450 hamlets in this province we have perhaps pacified four. It is unrealistic to expect without enormously increased efforts that we could pacify this province within the six months to one year goal Saigon has given us. No doubt there will have to be an American presence for 25 years if we are to accomplish the long range goals of building a viable economic and political society. After all, this is Asia!"

### 3. The War for the People

It is a contention of the Administration that there are more and more defectors from the Viet Cong, that there is a diminution of anti-American feeling as a result of increasing security and pacification. Once again a visitor to the field must report that this conclusion appears to be almost wholly at variance with the facts. Quaker personnel which now number 30 in South Vietnam report universally a rising anti-Americanism based largely on the continued enormous growth of American presence with its concomitant increased military activity, particularly bombings, with the creation of masses of refugees and civilian casualties. This opinion is confirmed by other volunteer agency personnel, such as those with International Voluntary Service, who report that it is more difficult than ever to have close Vietnamese friends and that as the American presence increases they as Americans begin to feel more and more isolated from their Vietnamese counterparts.

In a conversation with Doan Thanh Liem, who is a Saigon government worker attempting to initiate social service projects in the slum areas of Saigon in order to counter the work of Viet Cong cadre who operate throughout his districts he told me he was unable to accept an American Quaker volunteer to work with him due, as he said, to the anti-Americanism which is on the increase in his districts.

The Vietnamese Buddhist leaders, both student leaders and religious leader report that the poor American intelligence which often causes air attacks on "friendly" villages is another cause of the rise of anti-Americanism. One Buddhist leader reported that in a village near Pleiku regarded as "friendly" the VC staged a military attack against the police station in the village. This resulted in a retaliatory air strike against the entire village by the air force. IVS personnel reported to me that their attempts to file complaints to the military with respect to air strikes in friendly areas had met with rebuff and in some cases antagonism.

Those familiar with the complexities of the administrative bureaucracy of pacification and who have followed the changing alphabet from USOM through USAID through OCO (Office of Civilian Organization) to CORDS, which is the present coordination effort between the military operations and the civilian pacification programs, have come to expect the predominance in priorities for military requirements. This has resulted in disenchantment on the part of many USAID people who have had other overseas experience. Volunteer agency people report that these professionals have been leaving in large numbers to be replaced by USAID personnel recently recruited in the United States who have no experience and very little understanding of work in underdeveloped areas abroad, let alone a grasp of the complexities of trying to win hearts and minds in a situation where the military are fighting a war of attrition against a people.

I also sensed growing disenchantment among U.S. Embassy personnel.

A close-up view of the pacification program was afforded me during a visit to Ba Xuyen Province, located south of Can Tho in the Delta. I arrived at the provincial capital, Soc Trang, and proceeded unannounced to the MAGV (Military Advisement Group Vietnam). This is the headquarters which coordinates the military and civilian efforts looking toward the pacification of the province. I had been given the name of the psychological warfare officer and after some inquiry from a number of personnel milling around proceeded to the second floor, opened a door and entered the briefing room and outer office of the provincial representative, otherwise known as the "Provrep". The Provrep is an American, usually a military officer either retired or on leave, who with his Vietnamese counterpart, the provincial governor, directs the military and civilian programs. I introduced myself to the psychological warfare officer as being a representative of the American Friends Service Committee which has 30 people in Vietnam and said that while I had considerable relation to these people my basic responsibility was to assay the progress and effect of the war on Vietnamese society and to update the information which the American Friends Service Committee uses in making various proposals for a negotiated solution to the war. I stated that we were critics of the Administration's military effort in Vietnam. Stealing a leaf from Stewart Meacham's book, I asked with a smile whether they would not prefer "informed critics" as against "uninformed critics". He replied with a laugh, "Informed critics, by all means", and said he would answer any question I had.

The result was a full military briefing in front of the map with its various plastic overlays which set forth the military and pacification objectives, both those that had been obtained in 1967 and those projected for 1968.

The map indicated that there was some progress in some of the hamlets directly along the branch of the Mekong River and perhaps along one main canal but, by and large, the entire province could be classified as thoroughly unpacified and militarily insecure. The map showed the location of all ARVN (Saigon) troops and areas under the control of the VC. It indicated in colored circles the range of 105 mm. cannon for Harassment and Interdiction Fire. The VC were alleged to have a main route for moving supplies from Cambodia down into the Delta and across to some of the regrouping areas further to the south and west of Ba Xuyen Province. I was informed that the objectives for 1968 were the pacification of the entire province in the first six months with some mop-up activity for the second six months. Based on the very small progress to date, this seemed to me a totally unrealizable objective and I inquired of the Provrep whether or not he felt the objective to be wholly unrealistic. He felt that the objective was unrealistic given his present troop level but indicated that there were considerable plans in Saigon at American military headquarters to supply him with additional aid in the form of additional American and Vietnamese troops. However, he lamented that his South Vietnamese military counterpart, the military governor, had not heard of these plans to date from his superiors. Subsequent to the briefing we were joined by the editor of the Chattanooga Times who flew in for a visit from Saigon. At one point he asked the Provrep whether or not the pacification of the province and the country generally could be done for less than the \$36 billion a year currently being spent. This brought a wry smile to the Provrep who responded that if aid was not increased but decreased the job of pacification would stretch out ad infinitum. The psychological warfare office then took the editor of the Chattanooga Times and myself by U. S. Army helicopter to a pacified hamlet which he said was the best one in the province and known as Soc Dong. This is a hamlet east of Soc Trang in an area inaccessible by road but accessible by small canals where fourteen Vietnamese families have had their village augmented by 100 additional families and then barbed wire erected around their village with a mud-walled military post built in one corner of the village. We landed on a small paddy dike and stepped out of the copter which promptly departed and proceeded to meet the hamlet chief.

We were informed by the psychological warfare officer that the pacification of this hamlet had proceeded first with a major military effort to sweep the VC regulars from the area. Then one of the Vietnamese 59-man revolutionary development teams had entered the hamlet to proceed with its pacification. This meant rooting out the VC cadre and then, in cooperation with the American USAID program, distributing goods. In addition the hamlet was surrounded with barbed wire, three small concrete foot bridges were built over waterways, a small generator was supplied so each hut could have one light bulb and finally a post was erected in the center of the village on which a television set was placed. The psychological warfare officer said the heretofore the VC had conscripted their young people and often taken rice. Now the Saigon government personnel were paying them cash for their rice and some measure of prosperity was therefore achieved for the first time by the hamlet.

During the visit the hamlet chief asked the psychological warfare officer for a gift of a transistor radio, which would seem to indicate that the wants would probably be pretty endless as time went on. However, the revolutionary development team had now moved on to another village, leaving these Vietnamese to defend themselves against any incursions the VC might make. During the tour the psychological warfare officer happened to mention that only last week a VC cadre girl was discovered within the hamlet and she had been removed.

One wondered whether or not this might be done over and over again with other cad being discovered next week. It would appear that the pacification was based essentially on a total economic subsidy and give-away program. It was apparent that this small hamlet could be attacked and overcome at any time even granting the will of those inside the barbed wire to resist.

During the military briefing I had pointed to an outlying government post on the map and asked why the VC had not attacked such an isolated post. The psychological warfare officer replied that in many cases the VC left isolated posts alone in a kind of working agreement with the Saigon government troops who in turn left them alone. This was one of the problems the Americans said they faced and could account for the ability perhaps of some of these isolated "pacified" hamlets to survive, at least for a time. I was aware, of course, that some hamlets had undergone pacification up to six times.

The sound of the returning helicopter cut short our visit and we said our goodbyes and shortly were airborne over the hamlet flying almost vertically up to avoid crossing over hostile country where VC might take the helicopter under fire. It was a bitter complaint of the psychological warfare officer that most of the operations in the province were conducted from the air or by shelling a long distance from the ground. He felt that real pacification could never occur until personnel were actually on the ground and working throughout the province. A likelihood of this occurring in the near future did not seem bright to him. One could only conclude that with over 400 hamlets to go any idea that the "end is in sight" is a myth. As a matter of fact, this was clearly recognized by the Provrep who ruefully said we really have only one pacified province in all of Vietnam. He was referring to An Giang which is a province with specific ethnic and tribal minorities which have historically been hostile to the VC.

During my visit, I once again made the trip by land through Phouc Tuy Province which had been declared pacified several times. There were the same forts where Americans and Vietnamese lived in encampments behind concrete and barbed wire. There were the same regrouped peasants in make-shift villages amid a devastated and destroyed countryside. The only difference was that this time the American military presence had been augmented by Australian military personnel who traversed the main road with enormous canon carried on great, wide half-trac vehicles. There were also extensive mobile mortar companies which shelled the hills of the province both by day and by night. Aerial surveillance continued with observer planes being the pilot fish for air strikes. Any idea that this province was "pacified" any more than it was a year ago would be hard to sustain. And it is important to realize that, basically, pacification has meant to the military not winning over the Vietnamese people but making it possible to enter the province without being shot at.

I held long conversations with Dr. Au Truong Thanh who was Minister of Finance under Diem but was later imprisoned by Diem. He was also briefly Minister of Finance under President Ky but was later imprisoned by him as well. Dr. Thanh was a peace candidate for president but ruled off the ballot by the military junta. In response to a question regarding the rise of anti-Americanism he said, "There is almost a total lack of support for the American position." He indicated that if a poll were taken among say 50 of his friends none would think that the U.S. could in any sense win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese.



It would be expected that this courageous critic of the military government would hold such opinions, but they were confirmed by numerous interviews with newsmen, diplomats, government workers, volunteers and Vietnamese from various walks of life.

I revisited a Chieu Hoi center for VC defectors in I Corps and found that the population of the camp in one year had dropped from 300 to 89. A tour of the camp revealed little, if any, meaningful activity politically and the program to provide productive skills consisted of nine sewing machines and two barber chairs. Visits to the refugee camps confirmed the reports appearing in the American press as to the lack of sanitation, water facilities or cultivable land and attests to their overcrowded conditions with demoralization of the young and old alike. The American government has made several statements respecting increased aid to refugees and more attention to treating the thousands of civilian casualties but to date these have largely been promises for the future. Given the increased pattern of intensified war, one can only conclude that we are deluding ourselves if we think our present methods in Vietnam are "winning hearts and minds".

#### 4. The Nationalists

One is struck on a visit to Vietnam with the number of moderate nationalists who, in spite of a rather harsh police state, continue to make known to any observer their belief that a solution to the war must involve the creation of a government in the Saigon-controlled areas which is not dominated by a military junta and which will be willing to enter negotiations with the National Liberation Front leading to some form of coalition government which is based on the power realities with which South Vietnam is confronted today. When the term nationalist is used we are speaking of various political leaders, intellectuals, professors, student leaders and Buddhists who are basically anti-VC but who feel that it is better to attempt to create a government based upon negotiations among the Vietnamese rather than to continue with the destruction of their country, the enormous casualties, the growing corruption and degeneration of their culture plus the possibilities of a totally expanded war throughout the whole Southeast Asian area. As one youthful Buddhist leader stated, "It is time for the Buddhists to negotiate with the National Liberation Front. At least they are Vietnamese whereas there is no hope with the Americans who are destroying our country". All of South Vietnam's Catholic bishops recently joined in a statement calling for an end of the war and negotiations with the NLF and Hanoi.

Dr. Ton That Thien who is currently a professor at Van Hanh University and who was the editor of the Vietnam Guardian, a newspaper which has been closed by the Saigon government for over twelve months, said, "Why, if the United States wants to punish or contain China, bomb Vietnam? Why pick on us? Why do you send people who know absolutely nothing about Vietnam to devise programs for Vietnam? Why do you support a corrupt military government? Cannot we have a true nationalist government which will negotiate with the communists? Diem wanted that, so he was killed. He was really a nationalist, so I supported him, but he was killed. How can you fight communism with this military government? The people have no respect for this government. The other side is unreasonable. Ho Chi Minh blindly resists. Do they want Vietnam destroyed, the genocide of a people? That is what is happening. The Americans are making millions of refugees and killing masses of others. Are you trying to win us with this bombing? The bombing of a tiny and poor country?

A bombing now equal in tonnage to that dropped in all of World War II? Vietnam will be crushed between communism and capitalism and we want neither. Vietnamese with no money or jobs are forced to work on your payroll and our society is becoming corrupt. Even if the war were to finish now it would take three generations to recover." This is typical of the opinions of the nationalists who feel that they cannot resolve their own Vietnamese differences because the Americans will not permit it.

Among the nationalists holding this view are some who are currently in the Saigon government itself. They have become increasingly despairing of the ability to maintain programs based on real accomplishment and integrity in a tide wave of corruption surrounding the billions which the United States is pouring in the Vietnam effort. Two government leaders actively working in national programs stated to me that the corruption involving USAID materials was "total". In one case one government worker insisted that no USAID material enter the area in which he was working as it made his job impossible and it would be better to have no aid than to be surrounded by the corruption which negated his every effort. One would like to quote these individuals by name and identify them but Americans must realize that the Vietnamese live in a tight and rigid police state in which police agents and counter-intelligence agents are everywhere. As one student leader put it, "We do not have the money or resources to know the full story of the penetration of the CIA but let me say we smell them everywhere."

Buddhist leaders are particularly watched by the police and in many cases must report weekly to the police. Some are unable to return to their own villages or cities, such as Hue, from which they came. Interviews with leaders of Buddhist educational institutions convince one that they are operating under enormous government pressure and surveillance. In fact, the recent mobilization order which lowered the draft age from 21 to 18 provides for conscripts into the South Vietnamese army to serve 15 years. Recently ten Buddhist students were drafted out of their university into the army and subsequently staged a hunger strike in protest against the new mobilization order. This mobilization order, of course, came about because of the American pressure to force the Vietnamese to participate more actively in the war, a thing that they are obviously increasingly reluctant to do. In two interviews Thich Tri Quang, the most forceful and well-known Buddhist leader in South Vietnam, stated that one cannot discuss a coalition government or relations with the NLF or even the Americans without first stopping the war. Thich Tri Quang also stated that present American policy created communists. He said the policy was so disastrous that every objective as stated about producing a Vietnam according to American objectives was unobtainable. He felt, therefore, that the present policy must be reversed before the other questions could be dealt with as the war made these questions impossible to resolve. There is no doubt that as the war proceeds even the nationalists may be reluctantly driven to closer collaboration with the NLF as moderate and middle ground is eliminated by the Americans. The very Vietnamese group which could enter into negotiations with the NLF and who could moderate and have substantial effect on any NLF program, the Buddhists, is being harshly dealt with by the American establishment in conjunction with the Thieu-Ky government as we press on for elusive military victory. The inability to have free and open elections, the inability for a press to function within the Saigon-controlled areas, the inability of Vietnamese groups to meet and discuss their own future makes it unlikely that the Americans can extricate themselves from Vietnam.



The end result is that the Administration pursues an ever expanding war and creates an illusion with the American public that it will soon be over. Meanwhile the enormous loss of lives and treasure goes on while we stubbornly refuse to take the steps which could lead to negotiations. Because of its poor military posture in Vietnam the Administration presses this grim war of attrition until it calculates it can dominate any negotiation or force unconditional surrender.

##### 5. The Quaker Program

A year later the Quang Ngai Hospital looks grimmer and more overwhelmed with casualties than before. At the time of my visit this 400-bed hospital had a 750 patient load plus some patients on porches and entryways who were not actually enrolled in the hospital. It continues to be a shattering experience to walk through these over-crowded wards with patients two to a bed, with inadequate medical staff and inadequate sanitary facilities or even water. I observed patients leaving the wards and going to the toilet in the grassy spots adjacent to the buildings. Some wards had one cold water spigot for over 100 patients. In one orthopedic ward there were 28 beds with 77 patients present, 14 of whom were on a double line of stretchers on the floor of the one corridor. The previous Sunday the 30' x 40' admission ward was overwhelmed with 60 civilian wounded who had suddenly arrived after a brief military action some twelve miles to the north. You can imagine the addition of 60 patients, many of whom were badly wounded and bleeding, to an already overwhelmed staff and hospital. As Joe Clark, the Quaker director of the prosthesis program, said, "It was sheer carnage." Into this rather grim picture has come the Quaker physical therapy and prosthesis program now operating in a new building where 20 Vietnamese apprentices manufacture artificial limbs primarily from local materials. There is a current production level of approximately 200 limbs a month and an objective of 300 limbs a month under present goals. These limbs are being fitted on a small number of the over 4,000 amputees in Quang Ngai Province who, like all the other Vietnamese in the northern provinces of South Vietnam, have no other available prosthetic service. It is a moving experience to see a mother holding the hand of her 4-year-old son as she leads him through the practice steps of learning to walk with an artificial limb. There is also a "forgotten ward" which has been turned over to the Quakers which is occupied by what can only be classified as the human refuse of the war. These are people who are far too ill to leave the hospital and yet who are being pushed out because of the pressure of incoming casualties. An old, abandoned building has been scrubbed and put in useable condition and here a Quaker nurse encourages the patients to get up from their canvas cots to try walking around and encourages their attendance at the prosthetic and physical therapy center. Most of the patients are wholly ignorant of the need to exercise the wounded muscles and have no knowledge of the techniques for recovery, particularly when artificial limbs are involved. Yet they are eager learners with the encouragement and love of these Quaker workers. An outstanding service of binding up the wounds of war is now underway which in time will match those other great Quaker stories such as the child-feeding program in Germany or service in the Soviet Union during the Russian famine. One must be aware that many of these patients have active infections and during their physical rehabilitation the Quaker workers are changing bandages. Many poor medical practices cause severe problems. For example, one young lad had his foot in traction and a tight bandage around his ankle. This was never changed or his position moved for several weeks with the result that the constricted circulation of blood plus his wounds caused severe leg infections and almost total atrophy of the foot itself.

He is now undergoing therapy exercises on a regular basis and comes each day from the forgotten ward to the rehabilitation center for his treatment.

Most of the amputations have been done not by doctors but by "surgical technicians" who are totally unfamiliar with proper amputation techniques for subsequent fitting of prosthetic devices. The result is the bones are often cut leaving sharp points and the flap of the skin is sewn together at the end of the bone rather than being pulled over the stump and sewn at the back of the limb. This makes fitting of prosthetic devices more difficult and painful for the patient and in some cases additional surgery is sought by our prosthetic director and the nurses. However, in an overloaded hospital it is difficult to find free time on the part of the surgeons for this type of repair surgery.

The case histories which the Quakers are now compiling indicate that the overwhelming majority of these civilian victims were injured by mortar and canon fire and by small arms fire, often from unknown sources. Many of the victims were in what were regarded as friendly and secure villages but who received wounds from Harassment and Interdiction Fire which is mortar fire initiated by the Americans to "keep the VC on the move and awake" during the night. Some victims were caught in mortar engagements between Vietnamese and American military groups but any accurate tabulation of the cause of the casualties is extremely difficult. One can only say that these are the victims of war and that it is a profoundly moving Quaker service of human compassion that carries a great message of love and reconciliation in the midst of the horror.

The Day Care Center for children who have lost at least one parent in the war has settled down into a program typical for that of a nursery school. The children are given rudimentary reading and writing skills as well as number recognition and participate in collective exercise and games as well as receiving two snacks during the day and a hot meal at noon. The over-crowded schools of Qua Ngai will not accept students into the first grade who cannot at least read and write. The result is that the children from the Quaker Day Care Center are being admitted into the public school system. Advanced classes for older refugee girls continue in sewing and diet and an active social work training program is proceeding under the direction of two Quaker social workers not only in conjunction with the families associated with the Day Care Center but also with the prosthetic and physical therapy center. Three Vietnamese are now engaged in social work training, a much needed skill in Vietnam.

In the VISA program the ten young people currently in South Vietnam continue to function in a variety of service assignments in which they mainly work under Vietnamese direction and within Vietnamese organizations. The VISA program has at its heart an attempt to relate to the real concerns and cares of the Vietnamese and carries with it, I feel, an important contribution in indicating that there are Americans who do not share the methods or objectives of the present American military effort. Rather, it shows there are Americans who are prepared to express support and concern to the Vietnamese that they be given the freedom to find their own way. VISA personnel are now engaged in teaching automobile mechanics to young boys. One VV works in a Catholic hostel operated for boys between the ages of 12 and 17 who are "shoeshine boys", meaning that they have come adrift and are without family and who scrounge a living by whatever means they can.

This hostel offers a home atmosphere and some educational and employment assistance where a bakery is operated. Other VISA personnel are working in Buddhist educational institutions, two in the Saigon Children's Hospital and others in medical programs in the Pleiku area involving immunization and drug distribution. Work assignments often change, however, and it is difficult for new VISA arrivals to enter into a work assignment promptly. This is because the objective is not work for work's sake but to find an assignment in which a sensitive interpretive job can be done.

One can only feel after discussions with many Vietnamese that the Quaker program in Vietnam is a valuable contribution. For example, Dr. Ton That Thien and Au Truong Thanh expressed a strong desire and concern that Quakers continue to work in South Vietnam. As they put it, "The work here gives you a basis to understand what is going on and enables you to remain in touch with those of us who are struggling to devise alternative means to this war." There has been concern among some American Quakers as to whether or not the basic anti-war position of Quakers is understood in Vietnam. It is here that one of the most remarkable changes has taken place within the year separating my two visits to Vietnam. Quakers are very well known to many large sections of the Vietnamese community. Not only has the almost two years of the VISA and Quang Ngai programs achieved a measure of acceptance and understanding but also the numerous Quaker visitors to Vietnam plus the newspaper ads and book and the general posture of Quakers with respect to the war have made clear our position. The voyage of the Phoenix has also reinforced our position. The Phoenix has had a particularly striking effect in the Buddhist community where it is felt the voyage highlighted the repressive situation in which Buddhists found themselves and indicated a Quaker understanding of it. While the voyage of the Phoenix has produced some hostility in some quarters, on balance it has reinforced the position occupied by Quakers with respect to the war. I came away with the feeling that when all of this is over, if the American government would like to recoup in some small way a tiny measure of what has been lost in relations between Americans and Vietnamese, it would be an astute move to appoint a Quaker ambassador to Vietnam.

The Spring 1968 edition of "Quaker Service Middle Atlantic Regional Edition, issued by the AFSC, Baltimore, Md., contains an article captioned, "War interrupts AFSC programs in Vietnam" by BRONSON P. CLARK revealed that all AFSC work in Vietnam was suspended for the time being in mid-February because war conditions made it impossible to continue. Personnel here being flown to Hong Kong and Singapore as conditions permitted. No decision had yet been reached on the future of the programs.

The article noted that BRONSON P. CLARK spent the Month of December 1967 in Vietnam revisiting many of the sights and peoples he had seen a year before. At that time he reported a widening of the war to include all Southeast Asia, a developing discrepancy between administration claims of progress in the war and reality, a growing anti-Americanism, and a new eagerness on the part of uncommitted South Vietnamese intellectuals to negotiate with the National Liberation Front.

(1)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961 by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, documents the publication "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities Report,  
Trial by Treason: The National Committee  
to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and  
Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12)

(1)

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

A source advised on February 27, 1967 that the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (PBSWP) is an affiliate of the National SWP, which maintains headquarters at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y., and as such, follows the aims and purposes of the National SWP. The source advised that the PBSWP, which has been an active organization in Philadelphia since 1940, does not have a headquarters at the present time, but utilizes residences of various members for meetings and functions. The source added that the PBSWP utilizes the name "Militant Labor Forum" for public affairs and "Workers Party" as a ballot name when running candidates for public office.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957 by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Seattle, Washington 98104  
March 29, 1968

RE: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
UNITED NATIONS-WASHINGTON SEMINAR  
MARCH 30 THROUGH APRIL 6, 1968  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On March 29, 1968, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported only 19 persons are believed to have registered for the United Nations-Washington seminar thus far. Of these, only the following person is known to be going from the state of Washington:

The American Friends Service Committee is the social outreach arm of the religious group known as the Society of Friends (Quakers).

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-11597-513  
ENCLOSURE



3/26/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NORFOLK [REDACTED] (P)

ANTI-DRAFT COUNSELING ORGANIZATION AND  
APPEARANCE BY DAVID MAYNARD

② AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY  
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA  
3/19-20/68

SEDITION; SSA, 1948

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy each of the following: six posters, one petition, two bibliographies, one pamphlet, and one business reply card. All of these items were distributed at the captioned activity.

Six copies designated for the Bureau since airtel is in lieu of LHM to be submitted 3/21/68.

On 3/19/68 the 3/14/68 edition of "Colleague," the College of William and Mary faculty newsletter, was received by the Norfolk Office via mail [REDACTED] but no further indication of the identity of the sender. On page three marked in heavy black ink was an announcement of a meeting scheduled on "The Draft and You," announcing that several volunteers from faculty and student body had formed a Draft Counseling Committee to provide information concerning legal alternatives to persons facing induction into the armed forces. The item also announced a public meeting Tuesday evening, 3/19/68, at 8:15 p.m., in the Campus Center Theatre, with Mr. DAVID MAYNARD of the American Friends Service Committee present at the meeting

JLT:jst  
(10)

100-11392-  
NOT RECORDED  
180 MAR 27 1968

NY [REDACTED]

to discuss the topic and present a film depicting the operation of the draft system. All interested parties were invited, and DAVID H. JONES (College Ext. 280) was identified as the person interested parties should contact.

On 2/19/68 [REDACTED]  
Norfolk, Virginia [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] advised she had been present at the meeting and furnished copies of literature on display there. She stated the meeting was attended by 45 to 55 persons, and of these, approximately ten left before the meeting was over.

DAVID MAYNARD, the principal speaker, was introduced by DAVID H. JONES, apparently a member of the faculty. A film was shown depicting the operation of the Selective Service System, which was entitled, "Age Ten to Adult." It contained excerpts from remarks by Selective Service Director HERSHEY.

[REDACTED] advised that two sessions of planning and individual advice were scheduled for Wednesday, 3/20/68, during which more individual advice concerning legal means of evading the draft could be obtained on an individual basis.

A question and answer period presided over by MAYNARD lasted approximately fifteen minutes, and included discussion of Landed Immigrant Status in Canada, which was raised by a question from the audience. Literature available for which charge was made was substantially identical to that on the enclosed literature list and abridged bibliography.

[REDACTED]

"Students for Liberal Action," a campus organization recognized by the college, which is the center of most controversial activities on the campus, and which enjoys a membership of about twenty. The organization has, in the past, sponsored anti-Vietnam demonstrations and is generally activist.

SAC, Norfolk

3/26/68

Director, FBI

ANTIDRAFT COUNSELING ORGANIZATION AND  
APPEARANCE BY DAVID MAYNARD  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY  
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA  
3/19 - 20/68  
SEDITION; SSA, 1948

Reurairtel dated 3/20/68.

MAILED 12

MAR 26 1968

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Norfolk Office reports that members of faculty and student body at William and Mary College have formed a Draft Counseling Committee. A public meeting was held on 3/19/68 in the Campus Center Theatre, where literature was handed out concerning draft activities. There was a question and answer period in connection with this meeting.

advised that [redacted] attended this meeting and was very much upset by the proceedings. He said [redacted] is highly regarded at William and Mary and he suggested contact with [redacted] might be quite fruitful in that it would provide an eyewitness account from a discreet and reliable individual with better than average intelligence concerning the activities which transpired.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEL:tdm

(4)

66 APR 1 1968

1968

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/12/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-71188)(RUC)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
UNITED NATIONS - WASHINGTON SEMINAR  
MARCH 30 THROUGH APRIL 6, 1968  
INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)

Re Seattle Airtel 2/15/68, captioned as above.

[REDACTED]

furnished a copy of the "AFSC REPORTER," monthly publication of the American Friends Service Committee Pacific Southwest Region, 980 North Fair Oaks, Pasadena, California, which included an application for attendance at the captioned seminar, on page 4, columns 4-5. This notes that it is merely for information only and not an official registration form. The information in the notice indicates that the seminar is limited to "35 men and women from the West...who can share new-found insights when they return home." The application contains room for the applicant to answer the following question, "I can share this experience with others in my church and community in these ways:" (3/68 issue of publication)

An article on page 2, column 3, of this issue of the "AFSC REPORTER," captioned, "ED BORGER'S to Talk with U.S. Congressmen" states as follows:

"To 'talk things over' with members of Congress, the AFSC sends representatives from throughout the country to an annual Washington, D.C. Visitation.

"ED BORGER, Long Beach Friend and chairman, Department of Telecommunications at USC, will be this year's regional representative from the March 21-29 visit.

"Please write your congressman about ED BORGER's visit. It helps to open doors to ask for an interview, to indicate who Dr. BORGER is and to reflect your own

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-71188)
- 1 - Los Angeles (134-2508A) [REDACTED]
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-69589) (ED BORGER'S)
- 1 - WFO (Info) (RM)
- (6) GGB

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INT. SEC.

LA 100-71188

concern about issues affecting peace. He will not be lobbying, of course, for any legislation but will visit his congressman and yours as a citizen and an AFSC representative.

"ED BORGERS is well informed, an articulate speaker and devoted to the cause of peace. Upon his return, he will be available to report on his visit.

"Send a copy of your letter to your congressman to ED BORGERS so that he will know who has been advised of his visit. This will also enable him to speak of any concern you express to your congressman. His address is 1960 Knoxville Ave., Long Beach 90815.

Neither [redacted] both of whom are acquainted with various peace-oriented groups in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, were contacted [redacted] and were unaware of the identities of any persons from the Los Angeles area who might be going to participate in the Washington, D.C. seminar, from March 30, through April 6, 1968. [redacted]

[redacted] The same informant advised on 11/18/66, that the Long Beach Citizens for Peace was a new organization which had originated in Long Beach during late 1966, for the purpose of sponsoring weekly silent vigils on each Saturday starting in mid-November 1966. The vigils were to protest the nature of the war America is waging in Vietnam, according to [redacted]

ED BORGERS has never been the subject of investigation by the Los Angeles office; however, the 1966 "Campus Directory," for the University of Southern California (USC) lists on page 55, EDWARD W. BORGERS, Associate Professor of Telecommunications, Room 244, Alan Hancock Foundation Building, Childs Way and University Avenue (business telephone RI 6-2168), residence 1960 Knoxville, Long Beach (home telephone 431-4015).

[redacted] and as the other information adds nothing new to that already given in Seattle's letterhead memorandum of 2/15/68, it has not been repeated in an LHM here. Informants have been alerted to furnish any information coming to their attention which would lead to the identification of persons from Southern California who may participate in the Washington, D.C. seminar. Any such information received will be promptly furnished the Bureau and interested offices in a form suitable for dissemination. This matter is considered RUC.

## SEMINAR FOR DRAFT COUNSELOR

Three sessions: February 22, February 29, and March 7 (Thursdays)  
Time: 7:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.  
Place: St. Augustine's Church, 117 Liberty Street, Elizabeth, N.J.  
Cost: \$ 3.00 for materials, plus a nominal amount to cover the transportation expenses of the leader.  
Leader: Mark D. Lyons, American Friends Service Committee

It is assumed that all trainees are prepared to make themselves known as counselors in their communities, that they are prepared to spend 25 hours training during a three-week period (7½ hours in training sessions; the rest of the time to be spent in preparation for the session) and a minimum of three to six hours per week counseling once they have been trained.

Registration is limited to nine persons per seminar. Send registrations to the Rev. Elmer L. Sullivan, 117 Liberty Street, Elizabeth, N.J. or call 241-3832.

### AGENDA

**ADVANCE MATERIAL:** Background material on nonviolence and counseling conscientious objectors.

**FIRST SESSION:** 2 hours - Group Counseling Session with trainees as counselees: Why are you here?  
½ hour - Introduction to UMTSA, the law and SSS structure  
Distribution of advance material for 2nd session (6 hours of preparation will be essential)

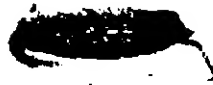

**ADVANCE MATERIAL:** Manual on draft law procedure and two procedural problems to be solved on the basis of the manual.

**SECOND SESSION:** 2 hours - Selective Service procedure, taught principally through the use of hypothetical cases, beginning with the problems assigned at the first session.  
½ hour - Brief introduction to the C. O. provision of the draft law and SSS Form 150  
Distribution of advance material for third session (6 hours of preparation will be essential)

**ADVANCE MATERIAL:** Handbook and Form 150 to be completed by trainees.

**THIRD SESSION:** 2 hours - Discussion of Form 150's and practice counseling by trainees.  
½ hour - Beginning counseling: What will the program in your community be.

3-5-68



  
The World Law Fund is a non-profit organization for the promotion of non-violence between nations.

World Law Fund is a non-profit organization designed to educate and promote the elimination of warfare between nations. The World Law Fund works with and through existing educational institutions and organizations creating its own educational structure only where it is absolutely necessary for specialized assignment.

The World Law Fund has four main directions:

1. The publication of study material and audio visual aids.
2. To promote instruction of teachers.
3. The World Law Fund tries to convince the leaders of academic institutions that the subject of world order is a legitimate subject for inclusion in the curriculum.
4. The Fund works to promote progress of study in other countries which is similar to the programs initiated in the United States.

According to this source, the World Law Fund is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Institute for International Order, Incorporated. The Institute for International Order, Incorporated, is a non-profit organization designed to promote, through education, the support of the United Nations and hopes to strengthen it and enable it to maintain peace.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

February 16, 1968

QUAKER ACTION GROUP

Reference is made to Philadelphia communication of  
January 26, 1968.

~~REDACTED~~ furnished the following  
items of literature received from a Quaker Action Group, (QAG),  
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., which describe the  
activities of the QAG and the voyage of the ketch "Phoenix."

1. QAG Newsletter #9, dated January 1968;
2. Pamphlet captioned "Voyage of the Phoenix;"
3. A petition captioned "Witness Against  
Conscription," issued by QAG;
4. Pamphlet captioned "Human Rights Are for  
Everyone," issued by QAG.

Copies of the above items are attached.

ENCLOSURE

100-11397-



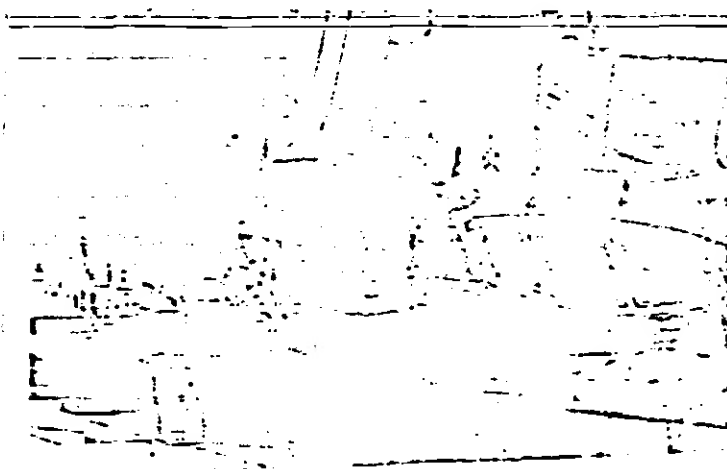
# A Quaker Action Group

Newsletter No. 9

2 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 19107

Telephone (215) LOcust 3-7537

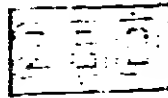
January,



抗生物 屈臣氏



North Vietnam  
The red cross society  
Haiphong  
Black in Japan  
1-17



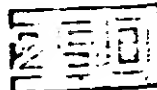
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抗生物 屈臣氏



North Vietnam  
The red cross society  
Haiphong  
Black in Japan



IVAN MASSAR from Black Star

## PHOENIX TO TRY AGAIN

We have hope that the Phoenix will be able to deliver surgical supplies to the Red Cross at Haiphong during the last days of January. Lawrence Scott will fly to Hong Kong as project director and join the Phoenix crew for this second voyage to Haiphong. Even as we try to stop this cruel war we must keep trying to bridge the barriers of death and suffering.

## THE NECESSITY OF WORLD COMMUNITY

Many have asked why we don't put all our energy into stopping the war and forget about medical supplies for victims, challenge to travel restric-

tions and other such activities. Our answer is that the building of world community is an essential for stopping wars.

As a new year communication we give some of the principles of our program.

- Our motivation is religious, but we believe religion and life should be completely merged.
- Our method is nonviolent direct action conducted in such a manner as to be cooperative with others who are engaged in more traditional peace education, legislative action, and economic and social change.
- The primary cause of war today is armament and nationalism; the primary requisite for peace is world community. Therefore we oppose compulsory conscription and armament by national states, even to the point of civil disobedience. We affirm world community by the direct action of bridging the barriers of travel and humanitarian aid imposed by wars between national states.
- Since we believe that just laws and governments are a condition for world community we endeavor to engage in nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience in such manner as to promote limited world government and heal unarmed national governments. This is no easy task in the midst of domestic and world revolution, yet we do not believe that a disruption and destruction by individual groups is any cure for the present world anarchy of armed nationalism. Citizens force nations to disarm only when there is a sense of world community with its institutions of justice and equity.

In addition to projects against the war in Southeast Asia, in the coming year we shall affirm the right to travel to Cuba. We are concerned to take direct action for nonviolent change in South America. We are organizing projects against national conscription. We intend to support the community building efforts of Martin Luther King and other nonviolent civil rights groups. We want to develop our affirmation of world community and bring the United Nations in December into an international effort for world citizenship which transcend national loyalties.

In all these programs we need your participation and support. We are grateful for the participation and financial support you have already given.

## **SOUTH VIETNAM REBUFFS AID HAIPHONG IN THE PICTURE AGAIN**

The second voyage of the Phoenix started well. The South Vietnamese government granted visas to the crew and no problems were expected. The Phoenix sailed for Da Nang, South Vietnam on November 14, 1967, with \$5,000 in medical supplies for civilian victims of the war. At Da Nang the Phoenix was met by a South Vietnamese government gun boat and held incommunicado. The crew was prevented from unloading the supplies or talking to reporters. After several days in the Da Nang area the crew, in a desperate attempt to get the medicines to suffering civilians, sailed to the mouth of the Mekong river hoping to talk to South Vietnamese government officials. Again they were rebuffed. The South Vietnamese government has given us no reason why they will not allow the Phoenix to deliver medical supplies to the suffering victims of the war. George Lakey, Project Director, wrote the following account:

Twenty-one days had passed since we left Hong Kong and, as we vigiled at the mouth of the Mekong River off South Vietnam's coastal limits on December 5, we had to decide: should we sail for Cambodia? We were low on food and water. The Phoenix had twice been damaged by South Vietnamese Navy ships colliding with us, and maneuvers apparently designed to promote more collisions. The Mekong River route to Cambodia was denied us by the S. Vietnamese government, but we could sail south to the Gulf of Siam and then north to the Cambodian port of Sihanoukville. If we went to Cambodia we could explore the possibility of giving our cargo to the National Liberation Front, a project AQAG had planned earlier but not expected to accomplish until later.

We pointed our yacht toward Cambodia, not realizing that while we were at sea news reporters alleged that an NLF camp was found in Cambodian territory and the U.S. was beginning to give way again to its temptation to widen the war. When AQAG Field Representative Carl Zietlow talked to us on our arrival December 11 near Sihanoukville, therefore, he had bad news. The Cambodian government had reversed its earlier welcome to us in the light of the battle for national survival it was facing, and regretfully was unable to give permission to the Phoenix to land. It did not want to offer the U.S. another pretext for charging that Cambodia in general and Sihanoukville in particular are supply routes for the NLF.

The government was not hostile; it gave us plenty of time for repairs, refueling, and provisioning. It allowed Miss Kyoko Koda, the representative on the team from the Japan Peace in Vietnam Committee, and George Lakey, Project Director, to help Carl with provisioning and then to fly out (Kyoko for medical reasons and George for interpretation work in the U.S.)

### **WHITHER PHOENIX?**

When Hanoi told AQAG last fall that U.S. bombing was too great to risk another Phoenix voyage to Haiphong, it suggested Cambodia as an alternative route. Now that Cambodia is in a delicate situation, Hanoi has agreed that the Phoenix might come to Haiphong during a bombing pause. (No press on this, please). While uncertainties remain, the Phoenix has set its sights for the bombing pause at Tet, the Buddhist New Year, which comes at the end of January. It will carry medical cargo for the Red Cross Societies of NLF and Democratic Republic of Vietnam, some of which has been contributed by the Friends Service Council (Britain) and the Oxford Committee for Children of Vietnam (Britain).

On Christmas day Skipper Bob Eaton ordered the anchor up and the Phoenix with crew Beryl Nelson, John Braxton, Chris Cowley and Maryann McNaughton, started the long journey back to Hong Kong.

### **BUDDHIST APPRAISAL OF OUR VENTURE**

On December 22 I visited with the leader of the pacifist Buddhists, Thich Tri Quang, in the An Quang Pagoda in Saigon. Why, I asked, did the South Vietnamese government, after giving us visas in Hong Kong, reverse itself and deny us entry?

-American pressure caused the reversal, and you can quote me on that, he replied.

Were you discouraged, he inquired gently.

-I admitted it.

-Don't be, he urged, going on to describe another way for us to send the medicines intended for the Buddhists. Remember, he said, that you have done something which badly needs doing: the Phoenix has dramatized the wickedness of this war. We are grateful for that and for the friendship of American Quakers who struggle as we do, for peace.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE HIGHER LAW AND THE STATE  
LEGAL NOTES

The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. recently ruled in the Staughton Lynd passport case that the State Department cannot refuse to issue his passport to a U.S. citizen who refuses to promise to abide by travel restrictions. The Court said the State Department does not have authority to restrict the travel of Americans under existing law. The Department of Justice has announced that it will take an appeal to the Supreme Court; so, until that court acts the passports of the crew of the Phoenix who went to North Vietnam remain revoked. And just recently the Administration has had introduced into Congress a bill making it a crime for U.S. citizens to travel to countries or regions ruled off-limits by the Secretary of State; the legislation would impose criminal penalties. Congressman W.J.B. Dorn of South Carolina has introduced in Congress a bill providing for one year in prison and a maximum fine of 1000 dollars as punishment for violating federal travel restrictions. We urge each of you to write your congressmen and urge him to vote and speak against infringement on the basic right to travel. In your letters you may wish to call attention to Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed by the United States:

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country

Early in December AQAG made application to the Treasury Department for release of funds totaling 1500 dollars frozen in two Philadelphia banks by order of the Treasury. We are asking release of the funds to meet present obligations of the committee. If the funds are not released to AQAG we will initiate a civil action in the U.S. District Court to compel their release.

We get information that the Treasury Department continues to assemble information in its effort to build a legal case against the crew of Phoenix that went to North Vietnam and possibly AQAG committee members on the grounds of trading and conspiring to trade with the enemy. We understand that Treasury representatives have approached some of those who were on the voyage to North Vietnam to testify for the government. Of course, the government already knows about AQAG's efforts to provide a token of medical supplies to the people of North Vietnam since it is the policy of AQAG to inform the government of its actions before undertaking them. We have always recognized the possibility of the government seeking indictments against the crew and members of the committee. In the meantime, we continue with our efforts to build a world without war.

George Willoughby

Each of our time is spent working against those institutions and practices which deny militarism, conscription, denial of human rights, government barriers between men, and on the weekend of December 8-10 A Quaker Action Group sponsored a vigil at the United Nations to demonstrate what we are for. It was a 56 hour continuous vigil affirming concepts of World Community and Universal Human Rights.

The vigil was held in the Isaiah Wall Park directly across the street from the U.N. Secretariat building. During the weekend over 150 people of all ages participated. Eight people fasted over the weekend to identify with the suffering people in the world. Saturday afternoon there was a public witness and affirmation of Freedom. Betty Bon and Horace Champney, crew members of the Phoenix voyage to Haiphong, spoke. Later, participants made their witness for world community by publicly stating their refusal to pay war taxes and refusal to be conscripted. The vigil ended Sunday afternoon with a door meeting at our vigil headquarters. Participants heard Lawrence Scott, AQAG Executive Secretary, and Scott Herrick, organizer of the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk, on the need for world community.

During the 56 hours we distributed about 7000 copies of the enclosed leaflet "Human Are For Everyone". We have had many requests for extra copies so there has been an printing. The leaflets are available from the AQAG office at cost: 1 dollar for 5 a ten percent discount for orders over 200.

#### AQAG STATEMENT ON CONSCRIPTION

A Quaker Action Group is opposed to military conscription as a denial of man's inalienable right of freedom, violation of human brotherhood, and because it undergirds the whole system of armed nationalism and war which threatens to destroy mankind. We urge resistance to military conscription by non-cooperation with the draft through non-violent means. We support the conscription resistance activities of Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rev. William Coffin Jr., Michael Ferber, Mitchell Goodman and Marcus Raskin, who have recently been indicted by Federal Grand Jury.

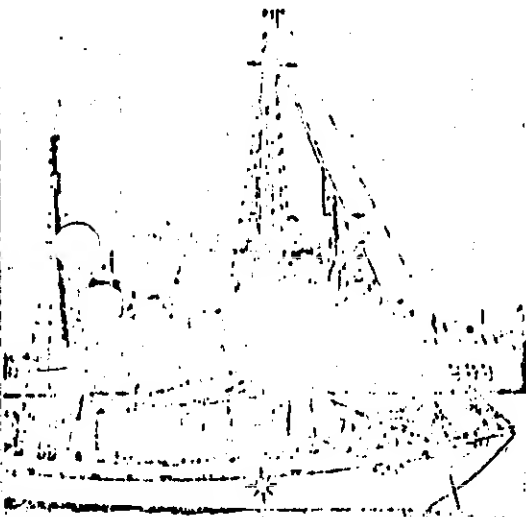
Enclosed is a statement which individuals are encouraged to sign as a public witness to their non-cooperation with the draft system.

While AQAG counsels non-cooperation with conscription we recognize that many sincere men in total opposition to all war are led by conscience to register as conscientious objectors and accept alternative service. Those who can't sign this statement are urged to write their own letters of support and mail them to the AQAG office.

#### WILL YOU HELP?

A Quaker Action Group is in the process of developing a long range program aimed at the production of napalm. The sub-committee developing this project has settled on Dow Chemical as its focus. We are now involved in researching the Dow Chemical Company with the idea of exposing the weak links in their corporate structure and a consumer product which would be an effective boycott item. We also are probing napalm production: where it is made, how it is shipped, etc. If you have access to a college or a large city library and can devote a few hours to a specific research assignment, please write to Jerry Coffin, at the AQAG office, and outline your area of interest and/or competence. Even if you cannot do the research, please send any newspaper or magazine articles dealing with napalm or any other information dealing with Dow to our office. The next newsletter will begin a series on napalm and our project against its production and use.

# "Voyage of the PHOENIX"



IVAN MASSAR, Black Star

## 60 MINUTE COLOR DOCUMENTARY

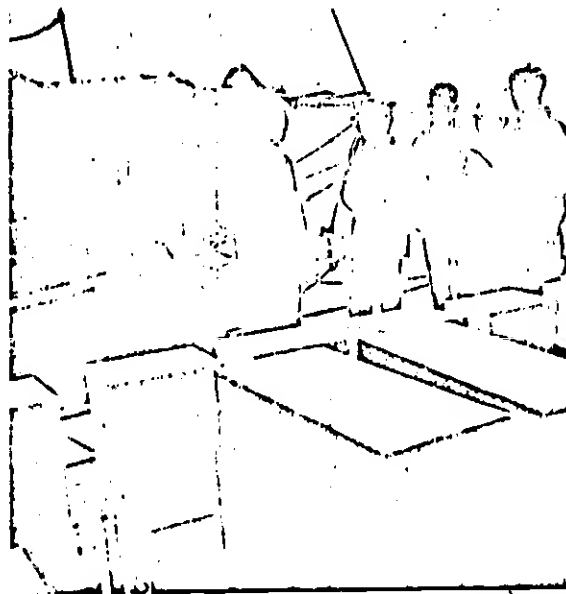
Produced by  
**CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORP.**

- AVAILABLE THROUGH -

*A Quaker Action Group*

20 South 12th Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

On March 30, 1967, despite warnings by the U. S. Government, the fifty foot ketch Phoenix sailed into the war ravaged port of Haiphong, Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. She carried ten thousand dollars worth of medical supplies consigned to the Red Cross Society to be used for relief of civilian casualties resulting from the United States bombing. This act of mercy, sponsored by A Quaker Action Group of Philadelphia, caught the world's imagination.



IVAN MASSAR, Black Star

(PANARA

The Phoenix age by writer eran cameran preserved on 'Incredible V record the Co tion produce all the excite perienced by her mission o

The 60 min "Voyage of in 16mm. A special arro supply "Vo group or orgo

Make plans Phoenix"

# Reservation Slip

All requests should be accompanied by the \$17 FILM FEE  
Checks for film fee and donations should be made payable to WILMER J. YOUNG

I would like to show the Phoenix film on the following dates:

\_\_\_\_\_ (preferred) \_\_\_\_\_ (1st alternative) \_\_\_\_\_ (2nd)

Occasion or group using film \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

FILM FEE \$ \_\_\_\_\_

DONATION \$ \_\_\_\_\_

# VARIETY

TELEVISION REVIEW  
June 14, 1967

"Voyage of the Phoenix" was one of the few world journalistic coups that can be claimed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. It was a gripping hour that traveled along with U. S. Quakers who soiled their 50-foot ketch loaded with \$10,000 worth of medical supplies for the Red Cross into North Vietnam.

"Voyage of the Phoenix" had all the suspense of a film thriller. Showing events of the trip in chronological order, viewers at various stages were led through a series of unplanned, unrehearsed high points: Namely, the Quakers' attempts to get passport validation in Hong Kong, their own fears that they would be stopped by the U. S. Seventh Fleet in the Tonkin Gulf and what events would occur as they neared the North Vietnamese shore.

Most of the Quakers aboard, from the captain Earle Reynolds whom Faun contacted before any of the other media representatives, to the sole woman, Betty Boardman, were interviewed at various stages of the trip and fleshed out Faun's narration vividly. Without camera tricks or glib narration or even over-slick editing. "Voyage of the Phoenix" was a documentary devoted to a matter of principle that any network could show to strong effect.

It took no stance on the war, and in his narration Faun admitted that he wasn't a Quaker and felt no religious kinship with them. "Voyage of the Phoenix" was an experience, event TV at its best.

Reprinted by permission

## A QUAKER ACTION GROUP

A Quaker Action Group was formed in July, 1966 by individual members of the Society of Friends from many areas of the United States. It is an informal association of Friends dedicated to confronting the immoral and destructive policies of war and violence while affirming constructive alternatives for the establishment of peace and human brotherhood. We seek to act in a spirit of nonviolence and love, which we believe is an active force for the resolution of conflict and the relief of suffering.

## COMMERCIAL RIGHTS

"Voyage of the Phoenix" was produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which retains exclusive world rights. It may not be televised nor may admission be charged for viewing the film without prior permission from the CBC. Television stations interested in screening "Voyage of the Phoenix" may secure prints from A Quaker Action Group; however, all arrangements for televising must be made with CBC, 135 Maitland St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

## ORDER NOW

Because of expenses involved in distributing the film, A Quaker Action Group requests a ten dollar film fee for each showing. To reserve "Voyage of the Phoenix" fill out the attached form and mail it along with a \$15 dollar check to Wilmer J. Young to:

Phoenix Film  
A Quaker Action Group  
20 South 12th Street  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

\*\*\* WITNESS AGAINST CONSCRIPTION \*\*\*

To Whom It May Concern:

We the undersigned will not cooperate in any way with military conscription. If of draft age we have either refused to register or have disaffiliated after registering. If beyond draft age we will urge those of draft age not to cooperate with the military selective service act of 1967, if that is the leading of their conscience.

We are aware that refusing to cooperate with the U.S. conscription system is a violation of law and subject to penalty. We authorize A Quaker Action Group to publish our names as signers of the above statement, as an act of public witness against the evil of military conscription.

NAME

ADDRESS

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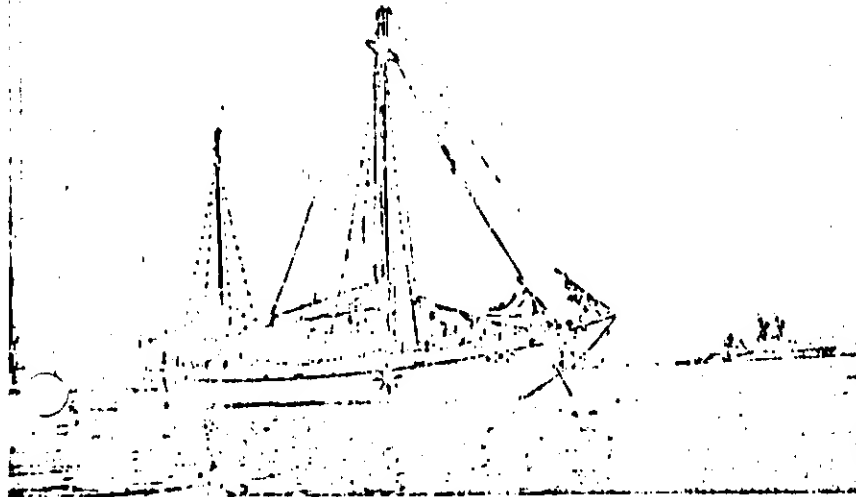
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Please return to : A Quaker Action Group  
20 South 12th Street  
Philadelphia, Penna. 19107

A Quaker Action Group affirmed human rights and brotherhood by sailing the Phoenix with medical supplies to Haiphong in March 1967. The United States government tried to restrict travel between members of the human family. It tried to prohibit medical aid to those who suffer the ravages of bombing.

A Quaker Action Group and the crew of the Phoenix defied those infringements on our human rights. We will not accept the enslavement daily imposed by the armed national state. There will be no freedom and security for mankind until we affirm our right to live as brothers in a disarmed world community.



Ivan Masser, Black Star

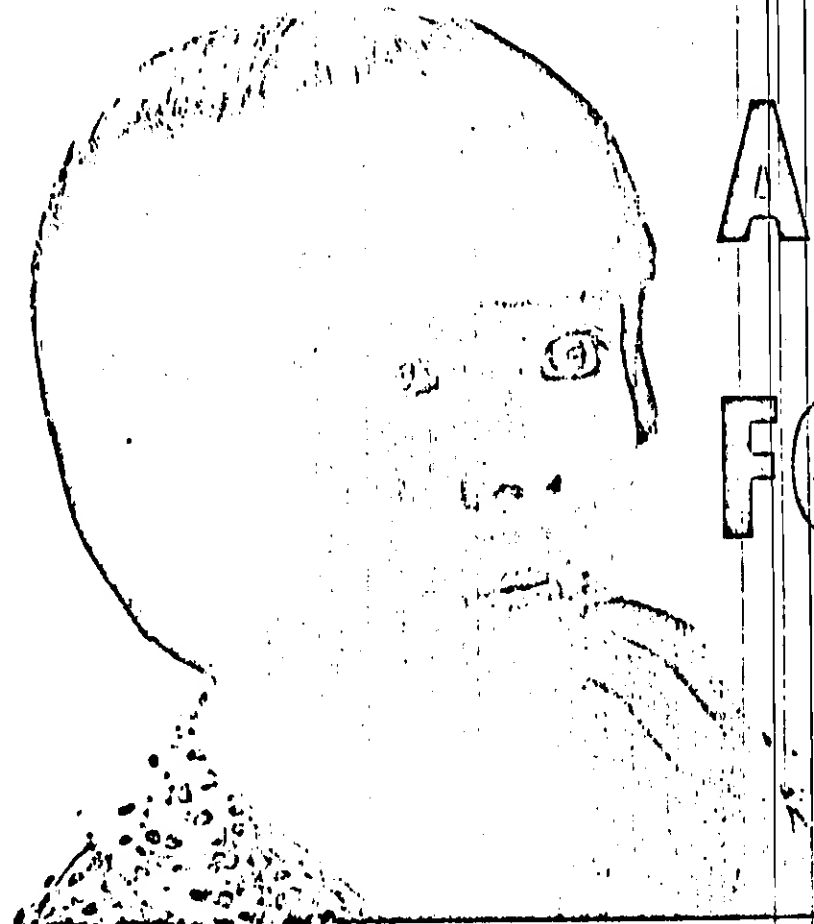
The power of conscience against destroyers

*A Quaker Action Group*

20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Telephone (215) LOCust 3-7537

# HUMAN RIGHTS ARE FOR



Ivan Masser, Black Star

# EVERYONE



# UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On December 10, 1948 the United Nations General Assembly voted agreement with the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Some of those principles are:

## ARTICLE 1:

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

## ARTICLE 3:

"Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

## ARTICLE 4:

"No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms."

## ARTICLE 13:

- "(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.  
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

## ARTICLE 23:

"(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection."

## ARTICLE 28:

"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized."

## WE AFFIRM

We affirm these Universal Human Rights and will consider it our duty to join with other men in their establishment.

# UNIVERSAL DENIAL C

Armed national states infringe upon the rights of man in the world by the anarchy of the arms race. By its arrogance of military power the United States is the worst culprit. As citizens of the United States we have the obligation to protest.

(1) Our government prevents its citizens from the right of brotherhood toward the citizens of other countries.

(3) The life, liberty and security of man is threatened by the Cold War and the denial of life, liberty and security.

(4) Conscription is a form of enslavement. The state conscripts men into a draft army, depriving them of all civil liberties and forces them to be killed.

(13) The United States government has arrested and imprisoned members of the Phoenix crew when the crew asserted their rights against North Vietnam. Then they travel against those who travel with them.

(23) In the United States enforced conscription confiscates part of the wages of workers, depriving them of a living wage. This forced conscription confiscates the fruits of labor to protect the life and liberty of the state.

(28) By its unilateral military action, its refusal to recognize the International Court of Justice, its war waging, the United States is a threat to a social and international order.

## WE DECARE

We declare that our higher loyalty is to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We shall oppose those laws and actions of the national state which infringe upon the rights of man and inhibit world community.

## QUAKER ACTION GROUP

The following newspaper items, which are attached hereto, also report additional information regarding the activities of the QAG and the voyage of the ketch "Phoenix:"

1. An article captioned "PHOENIX DOCKS IN HAIPHONG WITH \$7,000 IN MEDICINE," from the "Philadelphia Evening Bulletin," Philadelphia, Pa., February 1, 1968;
2. An article captioned "PHILADELPHIA NEGRO LEADER IN N. VIETNAM WITH MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR WOUNDED," from the "Philadelphia Tribune," Philadelphia, Pa., February 6, 1968;
3. An article captioned "PHOENIX CREW REPORTS DELIVERY TO N. VIETNAM," from "The Daily News," Philadelphia, Pa., February 14, 1968;
4. An article captioned "PHOENIX SAILOR DOUBTS U. S. CAN WIN IN VIETNAM," from "The Philadelphia Inquirer," Philadelphia, Pa., February 15, 1968.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Phoenix Docks in Haiphong With \$7,000 in Medicine

The yacht Phoenix arrived safely Monday in the North Vietnamese port of Haiphong with \$7,000 worth of medical supplies, George Lakey, co-chairman of the Quaker Action Group, announced yesterday.

Lakey said the seven-man crew was scheduled to unload the cargo and leave the port on Tuesday, but no further word has been received. The Quakers brought \$5,000 worth of surgical instruments for the Red Cross in North Vietnam, and \$2,000 worth of medicine for the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong.

The supplies are intended for civilian victims of the war, Lakey said.

The Phoenix has visited Haiphong twice in its three trips to Vietnam. The first voyage in March, 1967, was followed by an unsuccessful attempt to deliver supplies to Da Nang in South Vietnam last November.

"This third voyage completes our efforts personally to deliver medical aid to the suffering Vietnamese, no matter what the politics of the government under which they live," Lakey said.

The voyage and the supplies were financed by contributions from this country and Great Britain. The Philadelphia area crew members included William Mimms, 37, executive director of the National Fair Housing

Association; Maryann McNaughton, 23, formerly executive secretary of the Philadelphia Committee for Nonviolent Action, and John Braxton, a student on leave from Swarthmore College.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.6-"The Evening  
Bulletin"  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 2/1/68

Edition: 2 Star

Author:

Editor: Wm. B. Dickinson

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Phila. Negro Leader in N. Vietnam With Medical Supplies for Wounded

A leader in the Negroes' struggle for better housing conditions in Philadelphia, William Mimms, arrived in North Vietnam Monday with a group of Quakers, to deliver medical supplies to civilian casualties there.

Mimms, 37, executive director of the National Fair Housing Association, joined 5 other crew members in Hong Kong two weeks ago, and the ship left for the war-torn country January 21, sponsored by a Quaker Action Group.

The cargo valued at \$5000 was delivered to the Red Cross Society of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. Also on board the ship, Phoenix, were \$2000 worth of antibiotics and general medicines destined for the Red Cross Society of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. The supplies were paid for by contributions from persons in this country and Great Britain.

Attempts made to deliver the supplies last October were prevented because of the intensification of the bombing of North Vietnam by the United States.

Mimms, whose National Fair Housing Association led hundreds of tenants in rent strikes against landlords in the city, said he felt there was a connection between the poor and oppressed in this country and those victims of the

war in Vietnam. He said, "As I am using every resource and exerting every effort to make life more tolerable for the poor in our own country, so do I feel the need to do the same for others."

The youthful housing leader who gained several victories for tenant dwellers — in getting landlords to make repairs — also said it is his hope that "by giving aid to those cruelly affected by the holocaust in Vietnam, we not only show compassion to the victims, but also plant that seed of sanity in other men so that they may see the futility of war and so counsel others to do the same."

Mimms resides at 6401 Catherine st. with his wife, Joyce, and their three children.

George Willoughby, co-chairman of the Quaker group, which has its headquarters at 20 s. 12th st., said "the latest trip to North Vietnam is a further attempt by our group to respond to human need."

"The U.S. bombing continues," he added, "and innocent civilians continue to be killed and maimed."

### 2 PREVIOUS VOYAGES

The Quaker group organized two previous voyages of the ship Phoenix.

— \$10,000 worth of medical sup-

plies were delivered to North Vietnam in May 1957.

— Attempts to deliver supplies to the South Vietnamese Red Cross and the United Buddhist Church were rebuffed by the South Vietnamese Government last December.

A Quaker Action Group was formed in the latter part of 1958 by a group of Quakers who felt an urge to do more to show their concern for their fellowman than was being done by the official Quaker Church.

The Action Group raises its own funds and is administratively apart from the official Quaker body, although Quaker officials and church members have shown sympathy and extended cooperation to their militant brothers.

Lawrence Scott, director of race relations for the American Friends Service Committee (the official Quaker organization), is executive director of A Quaker Action Group.

The other crew members, all veterans of the voyage to South Vietnam, are: Robert Eaton, 23, the ship's captain from Annapolis, Md.; Beryl Nelson, 22, from Kokomo, Ind.; John Braxton, 19, of North Wales, Pa.; Maryann McNaughton, 23, of Philadelphia's Committee for Non Violent Action, and Christopher Cowley, 22, from London, England.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p. 24- "The  
Philadelphia Tribu  
— Philadelphia, Pa

Date: 2/6/68  
Edition: Vol. 84, No. 25  
Author:  
Editor: E. Washington Rh  
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

### Phoenix Crew Reports Delivery to N. Vietnam

HONG KONG (UPI). — An American Quaker pacifist ship has delivered \$6000 worth of medical supplies to the North Vietnamese Red Cross and the Vietcong Red Cross at Haiphong, crew members said upon return to Hong Kong yesterday.

The six Americans and one Briton who made the journey in the Phoenix in defiance of U. S. State Department regulations said they were greeted by "dozens of beautiful girls carrying flowers" and taken on a tour by Red Cross representatives.

The skipper, Robert Eator, 24, of Philadelphia, whose passport was lifted as a result of the trip, said small boats take cargoes from ships in Haiphong because the port had been heavily bombed. He said he saw Chinese, Soviet and British merchant ships in the port.

John Braxton, 19, of North Wales, Pa., said a young North Vietnamese naval officer told him he had faith "in Ho Chi Minh's declaration that they would fight five, 10 or even 15 years to defeat the U. S. aggressors."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.6-"Daily News"  
-Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 2/14/68  
Edition: 4 star  
Author: J. RAY HUNT  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:

-or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Phoenix Sailor Doubts U.S. Can Win in Vietnam

A member of the crew of the Phoenix, which recently sailed to North Vietnam carrying medical supplies, said Wednesday night he doesn't believe the U.S. can win in Vietnam.

William Mimms, executive director of the Philadelphia-based National Fair Housing Association, told newsmen at International Airport, "You can't beat a man who is fighting for his freedom."

The 37-year-old civil rights leader explained that the North Vietnamese view South Vietnam as a captive part of their own nation.

### TALK OF ONENESS

"They don't mention South Vietnam," he stated. "They only talk of the oneness" of the countries.

Mimms arrived at 6:30 P. M. after a flight from Hong Kong, where the Phoenix returned following delivery of \$7000 in medical supplies to the North Vietnamese Red Cross at Haiphong, where the crew spent two days.

The trip, which violated State Department prohibitions, was sponsored by A Quaker Action Group — a peace group comprised mainly of Quakers but having no official link with the Society of Friends.

### PASSPORTS REVOKED

Because of State Department restrictions, two members of the crew have had their passports revoked and the others, including Mimms, could face the same action.

Asked about this, the Negro leader stated, "To take it away from me is like asking me to get on the back of the bus."

Mimms claimed that the bombing of North Vietnam has served only to unify the people. Even the nightly cleanup operations following a bombing raid don't dampen their belief the two Vietnams will be reunited.

"At night, they move about like crazy. It's like New York," he said. "Where we have bombed one bridge, they have built

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.3—"The Philadelphia  
Inquirer"  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 2/15/68  
Edition: final

Author: Walter H. Anner  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated PH



William Mimms, 37, meets  
reporters at International  
Airport on return from  
Vietnam.

MAILED

FEB 20 1968

NAME CHECK

- 1 - Name Check
- 1 - G. D. Coakley

REC.

100-11392-511

February 8, 1968

15747

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Reference is made to your letter dated February 1, 1968, your reference [REDACTED]

A brochure published by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) describes this organization as follows:

"THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE is a Quaker international voluntary service organization with programs in some 20 countries. It operates in the belief that there is love of God in every man and that love, expressed through creative action, can overcome hatred, prejudice, and fear. The Committee is staffed and supported by people of many faiths and races.

"Summer institutes on world affairs are sponsored annually by most of its 11 regional offices in the United States. Other programs include refugee rehabilitation, social and technical assistance, summer and year-round voluntary service projects for young people, work with the problems of minorities, and international conferences and seminars. The work is carried on entirely through voluntary contributions."

In 1958, the AFSC participated in an exchange visit with the Soviets. In connection with this exchange, the AFSC sponsored visits to the United States of three individuals and sent three members of the AFSC to the USSR for extended visits.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-767

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holmes  
Miss Gandy

GDC:lbg  
(6)

NOTE:

54 MAR 11 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



**Re: American Friends Service Committee**

In 1960, the AFSC entered into an agreement with the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSE for reciprocal international seminars, the first of which was held in the USSE in August, 1960.

Information which has come to our attention indicates that the contacts between the members of the AFSC and Soviet-bloc officials have been restricted to cultural and student exchange matters.

No information has come to our attention which would indicate that the AFSC is significantly infiltrated, dominated or controlled by the Communist Party or any other subversive group.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington  
February 15, 1968

1

RE: ~~AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE~~  
~~UNITED NATIONS-WASHINGTON SEMINAR~~  
~~MARCH 30 THROUGH APRIL 6, 1968~~  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On February 14, 1968, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past reported the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) offices at Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco and Pasadena, California, are sponsoring a seminar at the United Nations in New York City and at Washington, D.C., March 30 through April 6, 1968. The delegates will be limited in number to 35 persons.

The purpose of the seminar will be to "discuss current world issues with diplomats, international authorities, international and national civil servants and legislators, and one's own Congressmen and Senators."

The source made available a leaflet setting out additional details on the conference. A reproduction of it is attached.

The AFSC is the social outreach arm of the religious group known as the Society of Friends (Quakers).

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

26 AUG 23 1973

100-11392-510

ENCLOSURE

Announcing a Seminar of the United Nations @  
Washington D.C., March 30 through April 6, 1968.  
Limited to 35 persons.

Sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee's  
Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Pasadena Offices,  
the United Nations Association Chapters of San  
Francisco, Pasadena and San Fernando, and the  
Southern California State Council of UNA-USA.

**Purpose** Building the institutions of peace  
requires men and women who are informed,  
concerned and who are activists. The purpose  
of this seminar is to discuss current world  
issues with diplomats, international au-  
thorities, international and national  
civil servants and legislators, and  
one's own Congressmen and Senators.

**For whom** Designed for Friends,  
members of United Nations Associ-  
ations, and others who will be  
able to use the experience  
gained in this week's inten-  
sive study to share with  
others through writing and  
speaking. The number is  
limited to provide maxi-  
mum participation; open  
to adults, including  
college students and  
mature high school  
juniors and  
seniors.

**Schedule:**

March 30: Leave  
the West Coast,  
arrive in New York  
for free time Sat-  
urday p.m. and Sunday  
a.m. Tour U.N. Building  
on Sunday afternoon.  
April 1-2: United Nations  
April 3: morning seminar  
in New York, afternoon bus  
to Washington D.C. April 4-5:  
discussions with legislators &  
policy-makers. April 6: sight-  
seeing in the capital; return  
flight. (Participants have option  
to extend visit up to 30 days at  
no extra travel cost.)

**Cost**

\$290 - includes transportation, hotel  
and tax. Cost to those arranging their own  
transportation is \$77 for hotel and travel  
from New York to Washington D.C. \$50 deposit  
should accompany each application. Deadline  
for applications and full fees is March 11, '68.

TO: UNITED NATIONS-WASHINGTON SEMINAR  
c/o American Friends Service Committee  
2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121  
(Telephone: 415 - SK 2-7766)

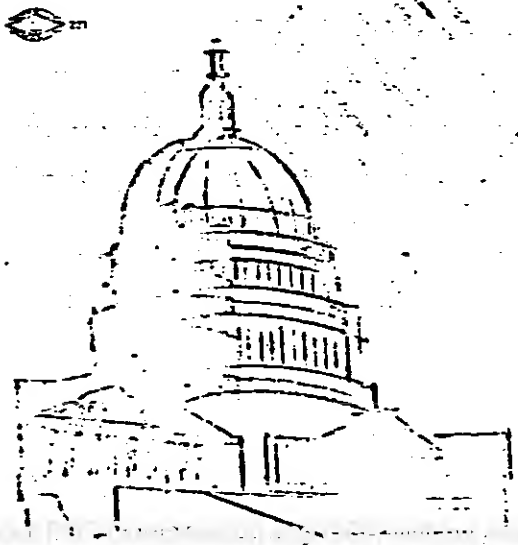
Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

(city) (state) (zip)

I would like ☒ the \$290 package ☐ the \$77 package

Attached are my reasons for wanting to participate in  
the seminar and an indication of opportunities I will  
have to use the knowledge and insight gained.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Seattle, Washington  
February 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

RE: DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED  
STATES INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

A summary concerning weekly vigils protesting United States intervention in Vietnam, which were held in the State of Washington during the past week, is set out hereinafter:

1. SILENT VIGIL AT MAIN PUBLIC LIBRARY, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 7, 1968.

On February 7, 1968, a confidential source reported ten persons participated in this demonstration sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

The AFSC is the social outreach arm of the religious group known as the Society of Friends (Quakers).

2. WEEKLY SILENT VIGIL BEGINNING MARCH 1, 1967, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 7, 1968.

On February 7, 1968, a second source reported about 16 persons took part in this vigil. None were recognized. No sponsor was announced.

3. SILENT VIGILS EACH WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING, EVERETT, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 7, 1968.

On February 7, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed approximately nine persons taking part in a silent vigil at the Federal Office Building, Everett. No sponsor was announced.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-11392  
ENCLOSURE

**RE: DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED  
STATES INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**

4. SILENT VIGILS EACH FRIDAY AFTERNOON BEGINNING JANUARY 6, 1967, FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING, BELLINGHAM, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 9, 1968.

On February 9, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed approximately 19 participants in this vigil. The name of the sponsoring group was not announced. No members of any basic revolutionary organizations were recognized in attendance.

5. SILENT VIGIL EACH FRIDAY, UNITED STATES ARMY RECRUITING OFFICE, BREMERION, WASHINGTON.

On February 9, 1968, [REDACTED] Bremerton, reported a weekly vigil protesting United States intervention in Vietnam had ten participants on February 9, 1968, but no sponsoring organization was announced. [REDACTED]

Representatives of various law-enforcement agencies in the communities in which the vigils were held advised no violence and no arrests occurred.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

January 31, 1968

YOUNG FRIENDS OF NORTH AMERICA

"The Friends Journal," Philadelphia, Pa., dated November 15, 1967, page 604, contained the following item:

"Young Friends of North America, meeting at Wilmington College in Ohio late in October, heard reports on how representatives of their organization, acting on a decision reached by the YFNA summer conference at Oakwood School, had gone to Canada to turn over \$600 to the Canadian Friends Service Committee to be spent for medical supplies for all parts (North and South) of Vietnam. Members of the group agreed to continue Vietnam relief efforts in two ways: encouraging young Friends to raise more money for the Canadian Friends Service Committee, and seeking to open up legal channels for humanitarian aid. They also made plans to promote training in nonviolent 'peace squad' methods, hoping thereby to enable Friends to live up to their testimonies by keeping the peace in difficult situations."

Concerning the Young Friends of North America (YFNA), "The Friends Journal," Philadelphia, Pa., dated December 1, 1967, page 627, contains an article captioned, "China Today" YFNA Workshop," reported by CAROLYN WILBUR TREADWAY, which in part states as follows:

ENCLOSURE

100-11392

## YOUNG FRIENDS OF NORTH AMERICA

1

"Despite current difficulties in establishing direct contact with China, Young Friends believe it is important that we continue our attempts to further our knowledge and understanding of that country and that we share our findings with others.

"In line with these aims, the East-West Contacts Committee of Young Friends of North America recently held its fourth annual Workshop on China. Fourteen of the thirty-two participants were from foreign countries. Resource personnel were William Barton of the Friends Service Council (London); George Denney of the U. S. State Department; William Hinton, author of 'Fanshen'; Allan Cole of Tufts University; Russell McArthur of Selkirk College in British Columbia; and Bronson Clark of the American Friends Service Committee, who served as moderator.

"Two main themes dominated the conference. The first was the challenge to the Western World - and especially to Christianity and Quakerism - of Chinese Communism's theory and accomplishment of effective social change. The second was the responsibility of U. S. policies in Southeast Asia for the breakdown in U. S. - China communication and cooperation.

"The ideal goals of Chinese Communism's 'social gospel' are strikingly similar in some ways to those of Christianity and Quakerism. The Communists advocate and are supposedly working for a classless society where service to others is to be the sole incentive for working and where there are to be no distinctions between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, bourgeois and proletariat. The present Cultural Revolution is seen by Maoists as the means of achieving

YOUNG FRIENDS OF NORTH AMERICA

"this particular stage of the Chinese Revolution. Their accomplishment of these goals has been only partially complete, yet they are forcing thoughtful Christians to seek effective alternatives to the Chinese approach to carrying out social change, so that Negroes in the United States can attain political, economic, and social powers equal to those of the whites; and so that the poor, non-white two-thirds of the world can share equally in the world's resources with the remaining third. Quakers are forced to consider whether the violence advocated by the Communists is more effective in achieving social change than the nonviolence of civil disobedience and evolutionary change of power we would prefer. We must wonder, too, whether service for others is not as viable an incentive for economic accomplishment as the profit motive.

"The present U. S. policy of containment of China - support of the status-quo governments of surrounding countries and extension of naval and air power in Southeast Asia - is the aggressive foreign policy of a rich nation seeking to maintain its special advantages in the world. It is inconsistent with our Christian beliefs. It supports Chinese propaganda that the United States is China's implacable enemy. The overcoming of ignorance and of apathy toward China, or the exerting of influence upon our government to pursue a more open and enlightened policy, is only a small part of the solution."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



January 26, 1968

REC-35

100-11392-509

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

Your letter of January 23rd has been received.

In response to your inquiry, information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret I am unable to furnish the data you are seeking.

This Bureau has no list for distribution such as you desire; however, you may wish to secure a copy of "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In it are listed some of the groups and periodicals which have been cited by various state and Federal agencies, and a copy of it can be purchased for seventy cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. Checks or money orders should be drawn payable to the Superintendent of Documents. C. O. D. orders will not be accepted.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 12

JAN 26 1968

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. American Friends Service Committee is well known to the Bureau as a pacifist group with the Quaker Church.

JBT:bjr (3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 FEB 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1  
January 23, 1963

1  
20  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am a [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Recently, I have received two publications from a group calling themselves the American Friends Service Committee. E

Even though this paper was printed in the U. S., the articles bear an uncanny resemblance to those articles written in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow.

I do not know how or why my name was placed on their mailing list. Needless to say, I have told them to delete my name from that list. 80118 REC-35 100-11392-50 JAN 29 1968

Do you know anything about this American Friends Service Committee? Also, could you

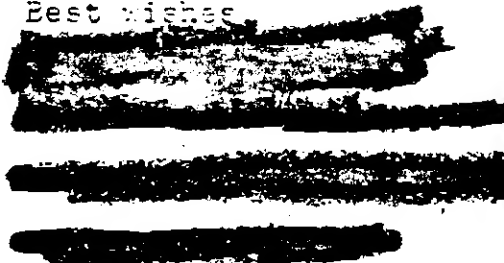
CORRESPONDENCE

nmf

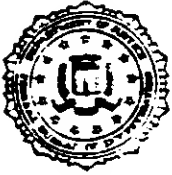
send me a list of those publications, groups  
and organizations etc.. considered to be  
subversive? I believe that the Board of  
Education, the faculties and students  
should be alerted to this common danger.

Thanks very much.

Best wishes



612-2-2222



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

JAN 22 1968

QUAKER ACTION GROUP (QAG)

The following newspaper articles, which are attached, set forth current news concerning the QAG and the voyage of the ketch Phoenix in its efforts to deliver medical supplies to North or South Vietnam:

1. An article from the "Friends Journal," Philadelphia, Pa., December 16, 1967, beginning "A Quaker Action Group's Yacht, Phoenix . . ."
2. An article from "The Evening Bulletin," Philadelphia, Pa., December 28, 1967, captioned "2d Voyage to N. Vietnam Planned by Phoenix Crew."
3. An article from "The Philadelphia Inquirer," Philadelphia, Pa., January 2, 1968, captioned "Quakers Plan Suit Against U.S. to Free Frozen Bank Funds."

ENCLOSURE

100-11392-

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

1 A Quaker Action Group's yacht, *Phoenix*, sailed November 14 for Da Nang, loaded with medical supplies, with the avowed intention of delivering half to the South Vietnamese Red Cross and half to the militant Buddhists of that country. Visas and permission had been issued at Hong Kong by the South Vietnamese consul.

However, at Da Nang an official South Vietnamese boat met the *Phoenix* to announce that the Government had changed its mind and canceled the visas. No explanation was given. As the JOURNAL went to press, the Quaker craft was on its way to the port of Saigon in another attempt to bring medical assistance to sufferers on both sides of the conflict. If delivery of supplies to both the South Vietnamese Red Cross and the Buddhists could not be assured, the crew had permission to donate the cargo to the Red Cross Societies of the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front via the International Control Commission's plane from Cambodia.

Still at the warehouse at Hong Kong was \$5,000 worth of surgical instruments to be delivered by some means to the Red Cross in North Vietnam, which states that direct delivery to Haiphong is not possible under intensified bombing conditions.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.661-"Friends  
Journal"  
Philadelphia, Pa

Date: 12/15/67  
Edition: Vol.13, No.24  
Author:  
Editor: Frances William  
Title: Browin

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

PH

☐ Being Investigated

## 2d Voyage to N. Vietnam Planned by Phoenix Crew

By CAROL INNERST  
Of The Bulletin Staff

The Quaker crew of the ship Phoenix, which the South Vietnamese prevented from unloading medical supplies for civilian war victims, will sail next month for North Vietnam. It will be the third sailing for the Phoenix and the second to North Vietnam.

George Lakey, Philadelphia project director for the Phoenix's second foray into Vietnam with medical supplies, yesterday related details of that voyage and spoke of plans for the next sailing.

He addressed a news conference at headquarters of a Quaker Action Group, 20 S. 12th st. invited to Hanoi.

The organization was formed a year ago "to take non-violent action against war and the forces of injustice," according to Lakey, who also is cochairman of the group with George Willoughby.

He said the Phoenix had been invited by Hanoi last March when it delivered \$10,000 worth of medical supplies to Haiphong for the Red Cross Society of North Vietnam.

The Phoenix will take \$5,000 worth of surgical equipment there in January, he said.

Lakey, 30, of 3711 Spring Garden st., and an assistant professor of Upland School of Social Change in Chester, returned from Vietnam Christmas Eve.

### Unloading Barred

He had left for that country on Oct. 11, and sailed with the Phoenix and its crew of eight from Hong Kong on Nov. 14 with \$5,000 worth of medical

supplies destined for the Red Cross Society of South Vietnam and the United Buddhist Church of South Vietnam.

"We got to Danang Nov. 19, visas from the South Vietnamese government in hand," he recalled. "The morning of the 20th an official of the South Vietnamese government told us we couldn't unload our cargo and had to leave. He offered no explanation.

"We vigiled three days beyond the three-mile limit outside Danang, hoping the South Vietnamese government would accept the supplies they needed. Then, on Nov. 30, we left for Cap St. Jacques in southern Vietnam and vigiled another three days close to Saigon.

### Claims Harassment

"While in the waters outside Saigon—but beyond the three-mile limit—we were harassed by the South Vietnamese navy boats that fired machineguns into the water near us and attempted to make us collide with their boats.

"A United States Navy launch trained two machineguns on us—one a deck-mounted gun and another in a sailor's hands. It seemed clear to me it was an attempt to intimidate us."

Lakey said the Quakers will try again to deliver supplies to South Vietnam after the January trip to Hanoi.

He said the medical supplies were purchased in Hong Kong and came from local manufacturers, Japan, Switzerland and the United States. Money to purchase them was raised in about a month through voluntary contributions, mostly American citizens, Lakey said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.20—"The Evening  
Bulletin"  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 12/28/67  
Edition: 2 Star  
Author: Carol Innerst  
Editor: Wm. B. Dickinson  
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Quakers Plan Suit Against U.S. to Free Frozen Bank Funds

The Philadelphia-based A Quaker Action Group, which has defied Federal law to send aid to Communist areas of Vietnam, is preparing to sue for release of its frozen bank accounts, an official said Monday.

George Willoughby, co-chairman of the predominantly Quaker organization with headquarters at 20 S. 12th st., said the group which sent the yacht Phoenix to Vietnam already has filed an application for release of the accounts as a first step in the contemplated legal action.

Willoughby, of 340 Pine ave.,

Blackwood Terrace, N. J., said the funds the group seeks to recover are \$623.82, frozen Sept. 28, 1966, in the Provident National Bank of Philadelphia, and \$844.20, frozen last Jan. 23 in the Central Penn Bank of Philadelphia.

The banks notified the group the Government had ordered the deposits frozen because it had "reason to believe there was an interest of foreign nationals in the accounts," Willoughby said.

The group has not decided, he added, what action to take on a third account of about \$500, a personal account of Wilmer Young, group treasurer.

### Hard Knock for Reds

LONDON, Jan. 1 (AP).—Somebody stole the knockers off the Communist Chinese legation's front door about Christmas time. Complaining to police, the legation blamed "imperialist revisionists" for the theft of the two knockers worth \$1.20 each.

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"The Philadelphia Inquirer"  
Philadelphia, P

Date: 1/2/68

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

January 17, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

JAMES STEWART MEACHAM

also known as

Stewart Meacham

Reference Philadelphia communication  
dated December 15, 1967.

[REDACTED], a  
six-page paper captioned "Testimony on Vietnam By  
STEWART MEACHAM, National Peace Education Secretary,  
American Friends Service Committee," which describes  
MEACHAM's views and impressions relative to his visit  
to South Vietnam in August and September, 1967.

A copy of this item follows:

ENCLOSURE

100-613923-



TESTIMONY ON VIETNAM BY STEWART MEACHAM

National Peace Education Secretary  
American Friends Service Committee

In August and September of this year I visited South Vietnam representing the American Friends Service Committee. My primary mission was to make firsthand inquiry into the general situation in Vietnam so that the peace education work of the AFSC could be better informed and bring more accurately into focus the essential facts and issues about the war in Vietnam. Also, I visited the service activities which are being carried on in South Vietnam by the AFSC. These include a prosthetic center in Quang Ngai and a variety of individual service assignments in the Saigon area.

During the course of my visit I talked with many Americans and many Vietnamese, both military and civilian. I talked with religious leaders, with journalists, with refugee officials, with students, with social workers, and with Americans working for voluntary service agencies. I visited the Central Vietnam city of Hue, as well as Quang Ngai. I spent two days traveling by motor vehicle and helicopter to refugee camps, provincial and district headquarters, and remote hamlets. I crossed a river by canoe because a highway bridge between Hue and the airport had been blown up that same morning by the forces of the National Liberation Front. I was in Quang Ngai on September 3 and observed the balloting there in the South Vietnam election. On one occasion I watched American helicopters and dive bombers attacking a line of hills near a hospital I was visiting. Nightly, whether I was in Saigon or in a more remote area, I heard the sound of H & I (harassment and interdiction) fire, sometimes close by, sometimes in the distance.

From the things that I saw and the people I talked with I gained these impressions:

1. The U.S. armed forces and U.S. civilian employees are beleaguered in South Vietnam. Everywhere one goes whether it be out in the countryside where active military operations are in progress, or in Saigon itself where the U.S. military presence is most apparent, U.S. armed forces and U.S. civilian employees are billeted and they work in heavily guarded enclaves, in buildings surrounded by barbed wire, sandbag barricades, cement-filled oil drums, grenade protection screens, and machine guns.

2. The Vietnamese population surrounds the Americans wherever they are, and in every city and every part of the country the Americans cannot assume for a moment that the V.C. will not emerge from amongst the civilian population, carry out hit-and-disappear propaganda meetings or armed attacks, and then melt back into the population, secure and unbetrayed.

3. Though the U.S. forces and civilian workers are constantly attempting to improve their security arrangements, they move about with a constant awareness of insecurity.

4. The Americans generally do not have a sense of clear purpose or of accomplishment. The military personnel are there for a year and it is the goal of most

to last out the year and leave. The civilians are often quite candid about their high pay and their fringe benefits and their feeling that they would not be able to do nearly as well back in the States.

5. There is great demoralization among many Vietnamese because of the low esteem in which they hold the Saigon regime. They feel that it is corrupt and graft-ridden. They have little respect for its leaders. On the other hand one hears Americans and Vietnamese alike refer to the NLF in terms of respect; they consider the NLF to be honest in its dealings with the peasants and they say that the NLF leadership is close to the people rather than separated by distinctions of status and privilege.

6. The recent elections aroused little or no enthusiasm among the Vietnamese. The feeling was widespread that the elections were rigged from start to finish.

7. There is virtually no freedom of dissent or of independent political action. One hears persistent rumors that the jails are packed with political prisoners who are subjected to torture and beatings.

8. The elections are viewed by Vietnamese and many Americans as changing nothing in Vietnam, but useful to the Johnson Administration for propaganda purposes in the U.S.

In this situation I reached three basic conclusions, one economic, one humanitarian, and one political.

I. The economy of South Vietnam is being destroyed by the war, perhaps irretrievably.

South Vietnam, instead of remaining a major rice export area, is now importing nearly one million tons this year. Rubber exports have been cut in half. A significant new war-related export item is scrap metal, bought by Japanese junk dealers and shipped to Yokohama.

Meanwhile imports of highly sophisticated western products, mainly from the U.S. and Japan, soar. In four years the ratio of imports to exports has gone up from 4-to-1 to 25-to-1.

This grossly artificial economic activity is made possible, and even essential, by the vast influx of consumer buying power in the form of wages, both military and civilian, and other war-related activities. Without the flood of western imported goods inflation would bring all economic activity to a halt. As it is, inflation is a continuing crisis problem. Those who suffer most are the villagers and those who profit the most are the urban privileged class in government, business, and the upper levels of the military.

The Vietnamese earn money in this U.S. financed economy by the services they render in several major highly lucrative, war-related occupations: (1) the construction of luxury housing and office buildings for foreigners and wealthy Vietnamese, (2) military service, (3) prostitution, and (4) bribery and influence peddling.

Meanwhile U.S. and Japanese businesses share in the profits from the war. Over 800 U.S. firms have commercial representatives in Saigon selling automobiles, motor scooters, radio and electronic equipment, food products, air-conditioning equipment, and a wide range of other luxury consumer goods.

Thus as Vietnam's own productive capacities are being destroyed the United States finds itself using Vietnam as a dumping ground for excess U.S. dollars and excess U.S. and Japanese manufactured goods. Those who profit are the U.S. and Japanese manufacturers, the Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam who are in on the graft, and the high-salaried Americans and top Vietnamese who are running the war and its related activities. Those who are victimized are the Vietnamese peasants, young people, and urban poor; also the young Americans who are sent into combat. Those who foot the bill are the American tax-payers.

Thus, economically the war exploits the Vietnamese people and the American tax payers for the profit of American and Japanese industry. The enormous wealth which top Vietnamese acquire in the process is incidental. (I question whether this economic exploitation was initially a direct motivating cause of the war; it is however a clear and dominant aspect of the war situation as it has developed, and it is a powerful barrier now to peace.)

## II. The cultural life of the common people of Vietnam is being obliterated.

Over 80% of the South Vietnamese people have normally lived in villages or in the countryside. Approximately 3 million of these have become refugees during recent years of heightened U.S. military operations in Vietnam. Thus with a total non-urban population of about 12,500,000, about 25% of the peasant and village population of South Vietnam have been driven from their homes and their rice paddies and they have been crowded into refugee camps and into city slums. Informed Americans in Vietnam estimate that 85% of the refugees have fled not to escape the Viet Cong, but to get away from U.S. bombing and H & I fire. Their homes have been fired on, their villages have been deliberately burned or bombed, and whole areas have been literally bulldozed out of existence.

While a peasant society is both more vulnerable and more resilient than a more sophisticated society to some forms of attack from without, we can get some notion of the dimensions of the carnage of war in Vietnam if we ask ourselves what the effect on our society would be if a proportionate number of our people had been driven from their homes by war and had had their homes destroyed. For us the number would be about 35 or 40 million people. This approaches the dimensions of disaster which we would experience in an initial nuclear attack.

When our military leaders talk of the war continuing for years, what do they think will be left of Vietnam? How can a country suffering such havoc survive? At what point does the further extension of a war cross the line that divides mass killing from genocide, war damage from war crime?

The creation of refugees is not a by-product of this war but an integral part of it, planned as a necessary strategy to destroy the base of NLF guerilla operations. This strategy takes for granted the supporting relationship between NLF forces and the Vietnam village people. To destroy essential support for the NLF militarily our armed forces now destroy the villages and turn the village people into refugees.

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An official U.S. memorandum titled Status of Refugee Program states in part: "In 1968 with the increase of military activity in the more densely settled areas, new refugees should number 600,000 with about 300,000 being re-established during the same period."

The U.S. authorities not only acknowledge the essential connection between "military activity" and rising estimates of "new refugees"; they also plan to exploit the misery of the refugees to gain support for the South Vietnamese government in whose behalf our armed forces are creating the refugees in the first place.

The above memorandum states: "Refugees by virtue of their numbers, their recognizable identity as a disadvantaged and compassionate group, and most importantly their family and the village connections in contested and Viet Cong areas; present a singular and readily exploitable opportunity to increase popular support of the Government of Vietnam within Vietnam and abroad." (Emphasis supplied)

Thus even the humanitarian impulses of those who feel pity for the refugees are included in the calculations of the U.S. authorities who are responsible for carrying out the war programs in Vietnam. First they destroy villages. Then they encourage compassionate concern for the refugees from the destroyed villages. Then they use the works of compassion as evidence of the fine qualities of the Government of Vietnam and in this way they seek to justify destroying more villages to keep this government in power. The truth is that genuine humanitarian purposes cannot be fulfilled until the U.S. military activities in Vietnam are ended, and no humanitarian programs connected with the military activities are truly humanitarian unless they serve to bring the war to a halt rather than justify its continuation.

III. Political life in South Vietnam has but two dimensions: the massive military intervention of the United States and the seeming inexhaustible capacity of the NLF to continue effective resistance.

With the recent election of the military junta and the swift crushing of those who charged that the election was rigged, the doom of any likely independent "non-Front" political activity in South Vietnam was sealed.

Rumors and reports of jails bulging with political prisoners in South Vietnam, and of intensive interrogations accompanied by torture as a matter of routine are widespread. At the same time students and others who have been engaged vigorously in non-Communist struggle movement activities against the Saigon regime say that many of their number are coming to the conclusion that the NLF is the only alternative to the corrupt, foreign dominated, militaristic Saigon government. They say that many already have joined the Front and more yet are giving it serious consideration. They say that the Front is growing in strength. They say that U.S. policy in South Vietnam is creating Communists.

• The basic desire of most Vietnamese is for peace. All Vietnamese except the top leadership group have an enormous stake in peace; without it they cannot survive as Vietnamese. Only the leadership group around Thieu and Ky has a compelling stake in blocking peace moves. Most of them have a clear and unblemished record of fighting alongside foreign powers against Vietnamese nationalists. First it was the French; now it is the Americans.

The financial stake which the leaders of the South Vietnamese Government have in the war is fabulous. Through graft and influence peddling they have access to American dollars beyond their dreams under the French. And the entire golden stream would be cut off if the war ended. They cannot afford peace. And they are the ones we are fighting for.

This situation can be changed only by radical action by the United States. This should follow along the following lines:

1. The United States should publicly acknowledge the failure of a basically military response to the essentially economic and political problems in Vietnam. It should declare its decision to initiate clearly stated and swiftly phased military de-escalation and withdrawal. This would include cessation of bombing, of search and destroy missions, of free fire zones, etc., but it would go much further and would be within the context of a total plan for withdrawal which would not be contingent upon political choices made by the Vietnamese.
2. The United States should withdraw its financial support from the Saigon regime because of the graft, corruption, and war-focused character of that regime's leaders and top officials.
3. The United States should release from all of the South Vietnamese jails the political prisoners which are being held there, and it should strictly refrain from giving any support to governmental efforts to suppress the freedom of any Vietnamese to engage in peaceful political discussion, debate, and public demonstrations. Where police or other armed units use U.S. arms to suppress such activities the U.S. forces should disarm them.
4. The United States should organize emergency direct food and shelter aid programs for people in need during the interim period of new political activity which these measures would generate, during which the Vietnamese themselves would be deciding how long Thieu and Ky would remain in power and who should take their place.
5. The United States should negotiate with whatever powers continue or emerge in Vietnam during this period on the following matters:
  - a. The complete withdrawal of U.S. armed forces.
  - b. How and in what forms and quantities U.S. resources might be made available for the rebuilding of Vietnam.
  - c. What safeguards might be provided for the safety of Vietnamese who have been identified with the U.S. military intervention. This should include but not be confined to enabling some to emigrate. But the basic effort should be to encourage talks among the Vietnamese themselves which would take into account the new situation and plan for the future, leaving behind the tragic past.

If such a course were to be pursued it would involve many perplexing difficulties, many inequities, many cruelties and brutalities, and many compromises with what we as Americans like to think are our basic principles. I am convinced that the difficulties, the inequities, the cruelties and brutalities, and the compromises of our

present course are far greater and far less manageable than these would be.

Some fear an admission by America of defeat, or of having been wrong. In my mind such an admission in this situation would greatly strengthen the confidence of people everywhere in American integrity and goodwill. In the long run I think we as a nation would gain face rather than lose it, and that the world would be better off. I am sure the Vietnamese would be.

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Nov. 1967

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Nguyen Thi Binh, chairman of the NLF delegation and a member of the Front's Central Committee, who spoke with Bronson Clark, Russell Johnson, and me for approximately two hours. Taking note of the *Phoenix* mission to North Vietnam and the AFSC program in South Vietnam, Madame Binh raised the issue of obtaining Quaker relief for the Front to assist those hurt by the war in and around the liberated areas in South Vietnam. "We welcome your material assistance," she said. "For the time being, your help on medical aid and money is in a good direction."

Madame Binh's associate, Ha Thanh Lam, the NLF representative in Prague, clarified a further reason for the Front's interest in Quaker relief. "Your activities," he pointed out, "though proceeding from good motivations, can be used by the U.S. and Saigon Governments to enhance the prestige and the 'pacification' efforts of the Saigon puppet regime." Wherever voluntary agencies choose to establish relief operations in cooperation with Saigon, he said, they inadvertently encourage and enable U.S. and Saigon military forces to evacuate and destroy nearby contested villages and to herd people toward new "approved" locations adjacent to the relief facilities. The Front, therefore, seeks outside aid to give an alternative to those whose villages are razed.

Informed of Friends' continuing concern that Quaker medical or relief personnel accompany our relief supplies, Madame Binh explained that "the time is not right"—that it was unlikely that our personnel could speak Vietnamese, operate by flashlight in underground caverns, keep pace with the Liberation Forces, and survive on the basic diet of the Vietnamese. Already the Front's experience with American prisoners has revealed how much "special attention" foreigners require. In concluding, Madame Binh said gently: "I suggest you re-examine your plans." Perhaps, she suggested, Friends could find "another way" to extend relief to her people. "We hope," she added, "that these words may give you some food for thought."

#### *Possible Nourishment for Friends' Peace Witness*

"Food for thought"? Yes, I brought back quite a bit from Bratislava. I offer these final observations for Friends' further digestion.

First, I am convinced that the Vietnamese with whom I met value the witness of Friends as a distinct contribution toward ending the war. They made it clear that they welcome the medical supplies of American Friends both as a contribution to the relief of their suffering and as a confrontation with the U.S. Government's strategy of attrition. I realize that some Friends have felt no medical aid should be extended save on our terms, while others urge that we shift the focus of our energies to "more political" efforts to stop the war. Still others have expressed concern at mixing what they perceive as our religious responsibility for relief with our political responsibility for protest. For myself, I should merely like to urge that while we continue to deliberate over what a more relevant, more radical, more Quaker action toward the war should be, we do not lose sight of the very real and distinct witness we can make now. For if indeed it has become the national interest of these United States to bleed the Vietnamese to death or the conference table, then surely the least we can do is to put our government on notice that Friends are in the business of giving transfusions.

#### *A Different Commanding Officer*

Second, while striving to maintain our unequivocal opposition to hatred, violence, and bloodshed on both sides of the war, we dare not overlook the implications of our relief work in connection with the political struggle for peace. We cannot continue to "help wherever we are permitted to help" without asking political questions—or answering our own religious queries. Every humanitarian act we perform has political consequences. Obviously, with the recently announced cutbacks in USAID funds to South Vietnam and the shift of village work from civilian to military command, U.S. voluntary relief agencies are likely to find themselves under increasing

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Talking with the "Enemy"

By ROSS FLANAGAN

It was my privilege to participate in September, as one of three Friends (with Bronson Clark and Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee), in a week-long conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, with the Czechoslovakian Peace Committee as host. The meetings, arranged by David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, brought together forty-one Americans generally representative of the "New Left" with eight members of the National Liberation Front and eleven citizens of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. History may record this as a highly significant meeting in that it involved the largest number of Vietnamese to attend a conference outside their country since the Geneva Conference of 1954 and also represented the first time a group of NLF representatives had sat down with a group of Americans.

The conference sessions were largely devoted to the presentation of formal statements, professions of mutual admiration, and the enumeration and exchange of questions for further discussion. The NLF placed major emphasis in its statement on the historical development of the Front's struggle for independence and the quality of life in its "liberated zones," while the North Vietnamese focused their presentation around their country's extensive and imaginative arrangements to cope with stepped-up American bombing. The American delegation presented an assessment of the effects (political, social, and economic) of the war in the United States and an explanation of the role of various constituencies active in the antiwar movement.

However, it was the humanity of the Vietnamese delegation that spoke most forcefully to me. There was Vu Thi Hao, a twenty-year-old schoolteacher who had received two hundred wounds from a U.S. antipersonnel bomb while on her way to school. There was the color film of life in North Vietnam before the bombing began—a heart-rending contrast to the more recent films of the war. There was the cable that arrived during the conference to inform one of the members of the North Vietnamese delegation that six of his children had been injured in an air raid. So much carnage and misery—and yet, far from being brutalized and bitter, the Vietnamese I met seemed to have more understanding and less hatred of Americans than had some members of our U.S. delegation.

At Bratislava we were given a clear understanding of Vietnamese attitudes toward Friends' diverse relief programs. Of particular interest were the remarks of Madame

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.655,656—"Friends  
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pressure to become ever more seriously implicated and involved in our government's "pacification" program. If Friends feel that it is important for us to stay and minister to the sufferings of our brothers in South Vietnam, then surely it is essential that we minister to persons of all backgrounds and beliefs who suffer there, including the millions of people living in areas controlled by the NLF. When one reads of an appeal by General William Westmoreland (November 22, 1965) on behalf of Quaker relief in South Vietnam, one readily sees how important it is for all concerned that Friends, Friends' agencies and Friends' programs make clear by their actions that Quakers serve a different Commanding Officer.

<sup>1</sup> Third, again at Bratislava I was reminded of how cheap words are—how easily we Americans intellectualize the war and ignore our real responsibilities for ending it. Talking with the Vietnamese, one could not help but be struck by the contrast between the total commitment of their lives and the shallowness that has typified so much of our own protest. "I'm prepared to suffer through the war in Vietnam if that will bring people to a realization of the futility of war," remarked one Friend recently, urging his Yearly Meeting not to act lawlessly by extending relief to all parts of Vietnam. Yet surely we fool no one but ourselves if we think we can successfully adopt such a detached and unfeeling posture toward the human tragedy of Vietnam and still survive the war as Friends.

Ross Flanagan of Berkeley (Calif.) Meeting, a sojourning member of New York Monthly Meeting, is project secretary of New York Yearly Meeting's experimental Project on Community Conflict. He has been assisting meetings concerned to extend Quaker relief to all parts of Vietnam.

7-11  
12-13  
14-15